PURANA

VOL. 5

1963

G. K. U.
HARDWAR

112281

112281

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

Vol. V, No. 1] [January, 1963

112281

पुराणम्

PURĀṆA

[Half-yearly Bulletin of the Purāṇa-Department]

VASANTA PAÑCHAMĪ NUMBER

आत्मा पुराणं वेदानाम्

ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST
FORT RAMNAGAR, VARANASI

891.2705
K15P
V. 5

Annual Subs.—Inland Rs. 12/- Foreign £1

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या 891.2705
पुस्तक संख्या K 15 P V.5
आगत पञ्जिका संख्या 59,455

पुस्तक पर सर्व प्रकार की निशानियां लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।

ी।

०;
, मद्रास।

०. डी० लिट्;
विश्वविद्यालय,

ाग,
ी।

EDITORIAL BOARD

Padma-Bhushan Paṇḍita-rāja Śri Rājeśvara Śāstri Draviḍa; Principal, Sāṅga-Veda-Vidyālaya, Varanasi.

Padma-Bhushan Dr. V. Raghavan, M. A., Ph. D.; Professor and Head of Sanskrit Dept., Madras University, Madras.

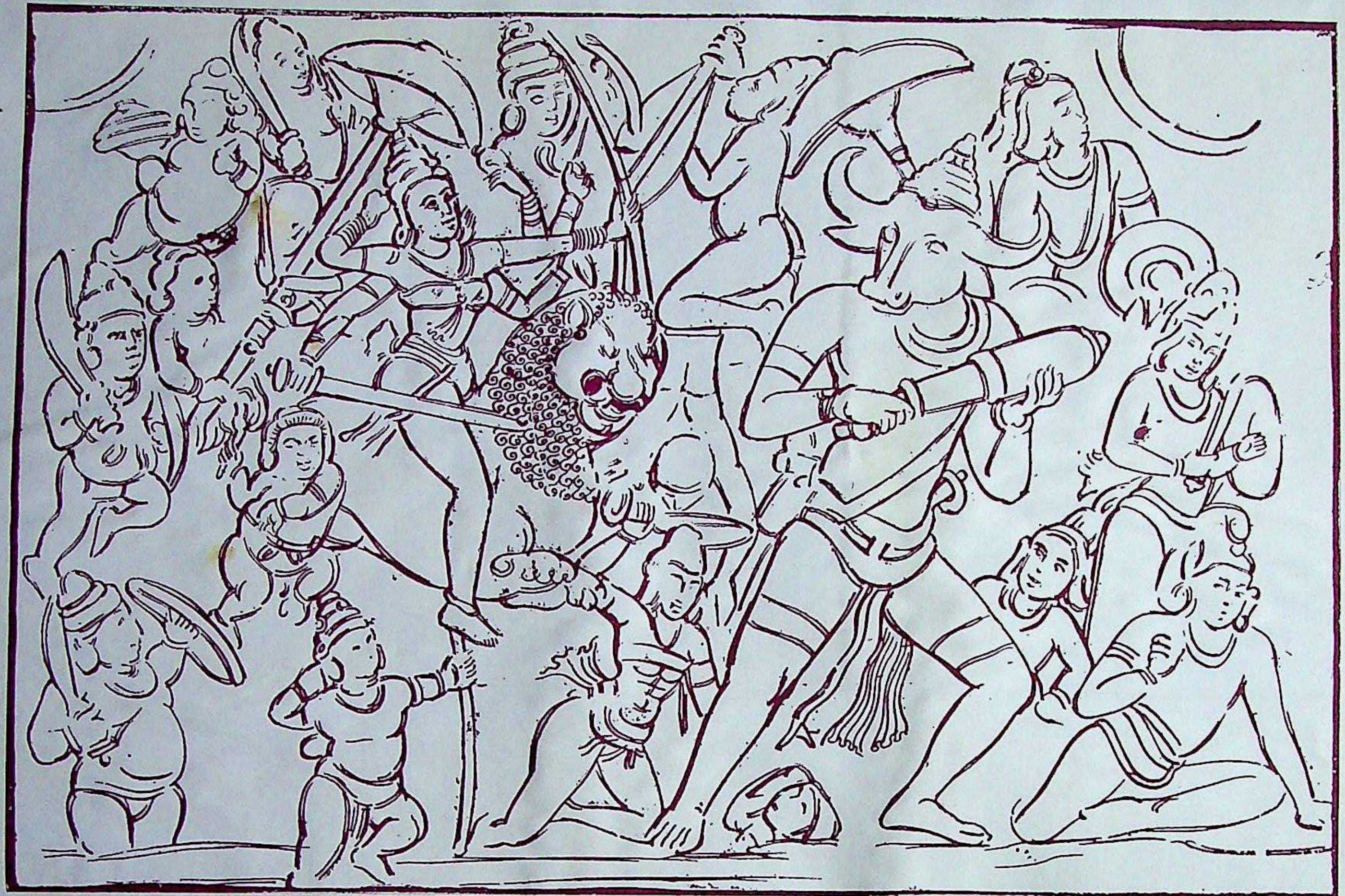
Dr. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, M. A., Ph.D., D. Litt; Principal College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University.

Shri Anand Swarup Gupta, M. A., Shastri; Purāṇa Dept., All-India Kashiraj Trust. (*Editor-in-Charge*)

2705
K 15 P

लेखकमहोदयैः प्रकटीकृता विचारास्तेषामेव स्वायत्ताः,
न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् निबध्नन्ति।

Authors are responsible for their views,
which do not bind the Editors.



The Great Goddess and the Demon Mahisha
From a Sculpture in the Mahishamaṇḍapa at Mahabalipuram, *Circa* 650 A. D.

From a Sculpture in the Mahishamaṇḍapa at Mahabalipuram, *Circa* 650 A. D.

पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

Vol. V, No. 1] वसन्तपञ्चम्यङ्कः [30 January, 1963

लेखसूची—Contents

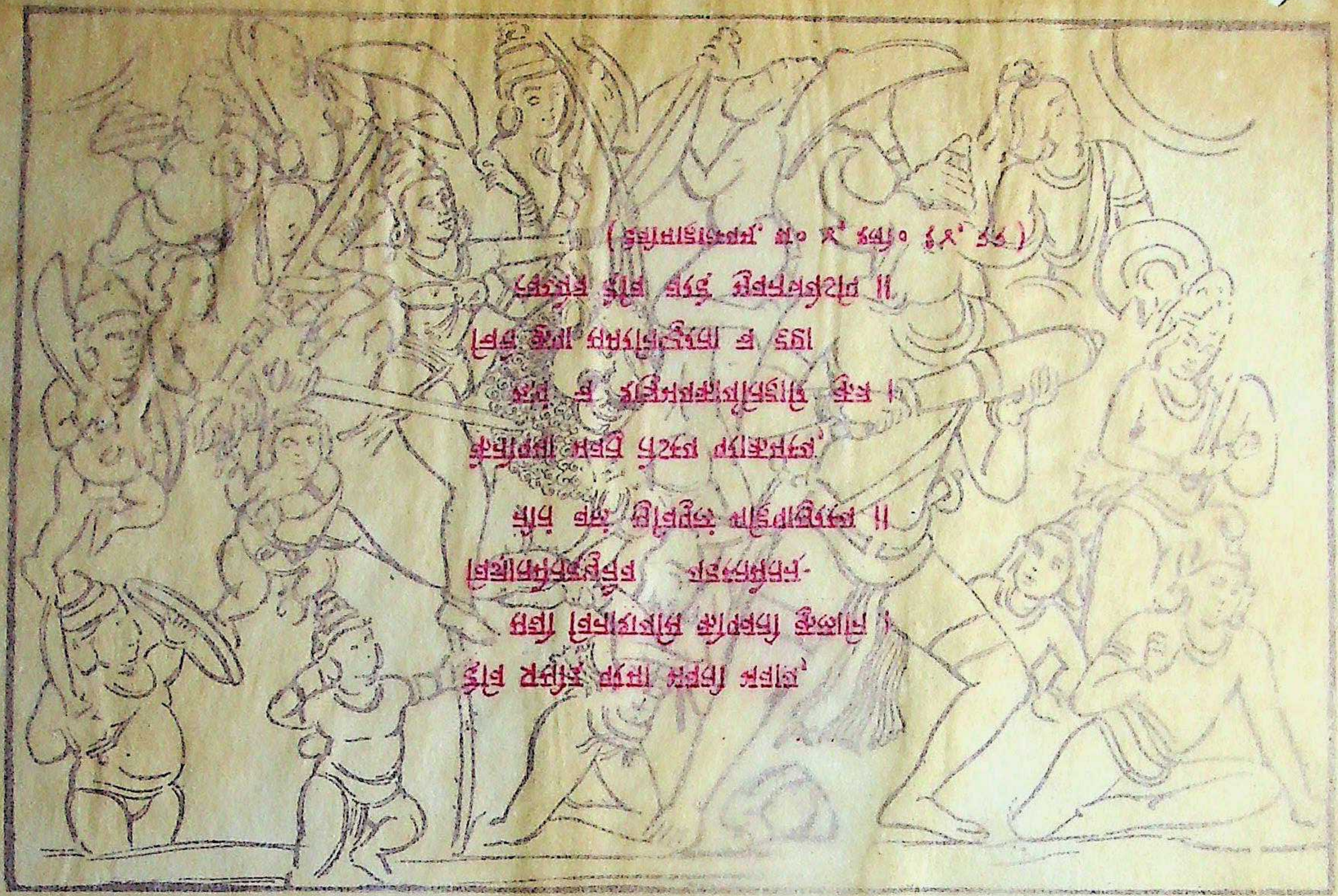
Page

1. इन्द्रकृता श्रीस्तुतिः [Praise of Goddess Śrī by Indra] 1-4
2. The Purāṇas as Authority for the Highest Truth [पुराणानि—परमतत्त्वस्य प्रमाणभूतानि] 5
   By *Swami Vivekananda* (Extract from *Swami Vivekananda's Works*, Mayavati Memorial Edition, Vol. V., p. 137)
3. Purāṇas as the Vehicle of India's Philosophy of History [पुराणानि—भारतीयेतिहासदर्शनवाहनानि] 6-10
   By *H. H. Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar*, Maharaja of Mysore.
4. The Purāṇas in Vyavahāra Portions of Mediaeval Smṛti-Works [मध्यकालीन-धर्मनिबन्धानां व्यवहारकाण्डे पुराणानि] 11-30
   By *Dr. J. Duncan M. Derrett*, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, W. C. 1
5. Purāṇa-Digests [पुराणनिबन्धाः] 31-38
   By *Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti*, M. A.
   23/16, Sahanagar Road, Kalighat, Calcutta-26.
6. Prajāpati and His Daughter [प्रजापतिः, तस्य कन्या च] 39-46
   By *Dr. Sadashiv A. Dange*, M. A., Ph. D.;
   Prof., Sanskrit Deptt., Nagpur University, Nagpur (M. P.)
7. Purāṇārthasaṅgraha of Veṅkaṭarāya [वेङ्कटरायकृतः पुराणार्थसंग्रहाख्यो ग्रन्थः] 47-60
   By *Dr. V. Raghavan*,
   Prof. of Sanskrit, Madras University, Madras.

देवि प्रसीद परमा भवती भवाय,
सद्यो विनाशयसि कोपवती कुलानि ।
विज्ञातमेतदधुनैव यदस्तमेतन्-
नीतं बलं सुविपुलं महिषासुरस्य ॥

केनोपमा भवतु तेऽस्य पराक्रमस्य,
रूपं च शत्रुभयकार्यतिहारि कुत्र ।
चित्ते कृपा समरनिष्ठुरता च दृष्टा
त्वय्येव देवि वरदे भुवनत्रयेऽपि ॥

(देवीमाहात्म्यम्, अ० ४, श्लो० १४, २२)



The Great Goddess and the Demon Mahisha
From a Sculpture in the Mahishamaṇḍapa at Mahabalipuram, *Circa* 650 A. D.

पुराणम्—PURANA

Vol. V, No. 1] वसन्तपञ्चम्यङ्कः [30 January, 1963

लेखसूची—Contents

Page

1. इन्द्रकृता श्रीस्तुतिः [Praise of Goddess Śri by Indra] 1-4
2. The Purāṇas as Authority for the Highest Truth [पुराणानि—परमसत्यस्य प्रमाणभूतानि] 5
   By *Swami Vivkkananda* (Extract from *Swami Vivekananda's Works*, Mayavati Memorial Edition, Vol. V., p. 137)
3. Purāṇas as the Vehicle of India's Philosophy of History [पुराणानि —भारतीयेतिहासदर्शनद्वाराणि] 6-10
   By *H. H. Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar*,
   Maharaja of Mysore
4. The Purāṇas in Vyavahāra Portions of Medieval Smṛti-Works [मध्यकालीन-स्मृतिनिबन्धानां व्यवहारप्रकरणेषु पुराणानि] 11-30
   By *Dr. J. Duncan M. Derrett*,
   School of Oriental and African Studies,
   University of London, W. C. 1
5. Purāṇa-Digests [पुराण-निबन्धाः] 31-38
   By *Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti*, M. A.
   28/3B. Sahanagar Road, Kalighat, Calcutta-26.
6. Prajāpati and His Daughter [प्रजापतिः, तस्य कन्या च] 39-46
   By *Dr. Sadashiv A. Dange*, M. A., Ph. D.;
   Prof., Sanskrit Deptt., Nagpur University,
   Nagpur (M. P.).
7. Purāṇārthasaṅgrha of Veṅkaṭarāya [वेङ्कटरायकृतः पुराणार्थसंग्रहाख्यो ग्रन्थः] 47-60
   By *Dr. V. Raghavan*,
   Prof. of Sanskrit, Madras University, Madras.

8. पुराणसुभाषितानि [Wise sayings from the Purāṇas] 61-63

9. The Glorification of the Great Goddess [देवीमाहात्म्यम्] 64-89
By *Dr. V. S. Agrawala* ;
Principal, College of Indology, B.H U., Varanasi.

10. Verbal Similarities between the Durgā-Sapta-Śatī and the Devī-Bhāgavata-Purāṇa and other Considerations bearing on their Dates [दुर्गासप्तशत्या देवीभागवतपुराणस्य च पाठसाम्यम्, अपराणि च कानिचित् तयोर्निर्माणकालसूचकानि तत्त्वानि] 9 -113
By *Dr. Dasharatha Sharma* ; Professor, Delhi University, Delhi.

11. शिवपुराणे केषांचित् पाठानां विचारः [Consideration of some readings of the Śiva-Purāṇa] 114-121
By *Prof. V. W. Paranjape, M.A.* ;
Sanskrit Mahāvidyālaya, Tilaka Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Poona—2.

12. Some Observations on the Date of the Bengal Recension of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa [पद्मपुराणोत्तरखण्डस्य वंगपाठसरण्याः कालविषयकाः केचिद् विचाराः] 122-125
By *Asoke Chatterji, M. A.* ;
Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

13. Geographical and Ethnic Data in the Matsya-Purāṇa [मत्स्यपुराणे भूगोलविषयिका जनपदविषयिका च सामग्री] 127-143
By *Dr. S. G. Kantawala, M.A., Ph. D.*;
Sanskrit Deptt., M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

14. वामनपुराणस्यानुष्टुबतिरिक्तानां छन्दसामनुसंधानम् [A Study of the Non-Anuṣṭubh Metres of the Vāmana-Purāṇa] 144-159
By *Pt. Thakur Prasad Sharma Dvivedi* ;
Purāṇa Deptt., Fort Ramnagar.

15. *Notes and Comments* :—
Bhuvanakośa Janapadas of Bhāratavarsha [भारतवर्षस्य भुवनकोशजनपदाः] 160-181
By *Dr. V. S. Agrawala* ; *B-H.U.*

Bibliographical Notes on the Purāṇas 182-185
[पुराणसम्बन्धिनां ग्रन्थानां लेखानां च निर्देशाः]
By *Sri Anand Swarup Gupta, M.A.* ;
I/C. Purāṇa Deptt., Fort Ramnagar.

16. Activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust 186-193
[सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्]
By *Sri Anand Swarup Gupta.*

Plate

The Great Goddess and the Demon Mahiṣa Frontispiece

[illegible]

इन्द्रकृता श्रीस्तुतिः

(विष्णुपुराणम्, अंश १, अ० ९, श्लो० ११७-१३३)*

नमस्ये सर्वलोकानां जननीमब्जसम्भवाम् ।
श्रियमुन्निद्रपद्माक्षीं विष्णुवक्षःस्थलस्थिताम् ॥ ११७ ॥

पद्मालयां पद्मकरां पद्मपत्रनिभेक्षणाम् ।
वन्दे पद्ममुखीं देवीं पद्मनाभप्रियामहम् ॥ ११८ ॥

†त्वं सिद्धिस्त्वं स्वधा स्वाहा सुधा त्वं लोकपावनी ।
सन्ध्या रात्रिः प्रभा भूतिर्मेधा श्रद्धा सरस्वती ॥ ११९ ॥

यज्ञविद्या महाविद्या गुह्यविद्या च शोभने ।
आत्मविद्या च देवि त्वं विमुक्तिफलदायिनी ॥ १२० ॥

आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिस्त्वमेव च ।†
‡सौम्यासौम्यैर्जगद्रूपैस्त्वयैतद्देवि पूरितम् ॥ १२१ ॥

का त्वन्या त्वामृते देवि सर्वयज्ञमयं वपुः ।
अध्यास्ते देवदेवस्य योगिचिन्त्यं गदाभृतः ॥ १२२ ॥

त्वया देवि परित्यक्तं सकलं भुवनत्रयम् ।
विनष्टप्रायमभवत्त्वयेदानीं समेधितम् ॥ १२३ ॥

---

* विष्णुपुराणस्येयं श्रीस्तुतिः श्रीस्तोत्रमिति नाम्ना अग्निपुराणेऽपि (आनन्दा०, अ० २३७, श्लो० २-१७ स्थले) स्वल्पपाठभेदेन सह वर्तते ।

† विष्णुपुराणस्येमे ११९—१२१पू० श्लोकाः पद्मपुराणेऽपि (आनन्दाश्रम०, ५।२७।११७, ११८ श्लोकरूपेण) देवैः कृते सरस्वतीस्तोत्रे इत्थं वर्तन्ते—

त्वं सिद्धिस्त्वं स्वधा स्वाहा त्वं पवित्रं मतं (v. l. घृतं) महत् ।
संध्या रात्रिः प्रभा भूतिर्मेधा श्रद्धा सरस्वती ॥ (११७)
यज्ञविद्या महाविद्या गुह्यविद्या च शोभना ।
आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी विद्या दण्डनीतिश्च कथ्यते ॥ (११८)

‡ अत्र तुलनार्थं देवीमाहात्म्यस्यायं श्लोको द्रष्टव्यः —

सौम्यानि यानि रूपाणि त्रैलोक्ये विचरन्ति ते ।
यानि चात्यर्थघोराणि तै रक्षास्मांस्तथा भुवम् ॥ (४।२६)

दाराः पुत्रास्तथागारसुहृद्धान्यधनादिकम् ।
भवत्येतन्महाभागे नित्यं त्वद्वीक्षणान्नृणाम् ॥ १२४ ॥

शरीरारोग्यमैश्वर्यमरिपक्षक्षयः सुखम् ।
देवि त्वद्दृष्टिदृष्टानां पुरुषाणां न दुर्लभम् ॥ १२५ ॥

त्वं माता सर्वलोकानां देवदेवो हरिः पिता ।
त्वयैतद्विष्णुना चाम्ब जगद्व्याप्तं चराचरम् ॥ १२६ ॥

मा नः कोशं तथा गोष्ठं मा गृहं मा परिच्छदम् ।
मा शरीरं कलत्रं च त्यजेथाः सर्वपावनि ॥ १२७ ॥

मा पुत्रान्मा सुहृद्वर्गं मा पशून्मा विभूषणम् ।
त्यजेथा मम देवस्य विष्णोर्वक्षःस्थलालये ॥ १२८ ॥

सत्त्वेन सत्यशौचाभ्यां तथा शीलादिभिर्गुणैः ।
त्यज्यन्ते ते नराः सद्यः सन्त्यक्ता ये त्वयामले ॥ १२९ ॥

त्वया विलोकिताः सद्यः शीलाद्यैरखिलैर्गुणैः ।
कुलैश्वर्यैश्च युज्यन्ते पुरुषा निर्गुणा अपि ॥ १३० ॥

स श्लाघ्यः स गुणी धन्यः स कुलीनः स बुद्धिमान् ।
स शूरः स च विक्रान्तो यस्त्वया देवि वीक्षितः ॥ १३१ ॥

सद्यो वैगुण्यमायान्ति शीलाद्याः सकला गुणाः ।
पराङ्मुखी जगद्धात्री यस्य त्वं विष्णुवल्लभे ॥ १३२ ॥

न ते वर्णयितुं शक्ता गुणाञ् जिह्वापि वेधसः ।
प्रसीद देवि पद्माक्षि माऽस्मांस्त्याक्षीः कदाचन ॥ १३३ ॥

[The *Srī-stuti* (as it is called in the Viṣṇu P., I. 9. 147 b) or the *Srī-stotra* (as called in the Agni P., Ān. edn., 237. 19 c) is in praise of Śrī or Lakṣmī, the Goddess of wealth and prosperity. In the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa this stuti is given in connection with the *Indra-Durvāsā-episode* (Viṣ. P., I. 9) The sage Durvāsā(°sas), once offered a garland of the

heavenly santānaka flowers to Indra who, however, placed it on the head of his elephant Airāvata, who threw it down on the earth. Thereupon, the sage, being enraged, cursed Indra that he and all his kingdom would be deserted by Śrī. Consequently, the three worlds soon became bereft of Śrī. Then on the advice of Viṣṇu, the gods churned the Milk-Ocean and thereby were able to regain Śrī. Indra then, to express his gratitude, praised Goddess Śrī with the above stotra.

This Indra-Durvāsā-episode is also given in the *Padma-Purāṇa* (Ān. edn., V. 4) almost in the same words as in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, but somewhat briefly. The Padma Purāṇa, however, has omitted the Śrī-stuti of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

The *Agni Purāṇa* also gives this Śrī-stuti of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa as already remarked above in the Sanskrit foot-note, but in a different context. It is recommended there for a king when launching upon his victory-march (*jaya-yātrā*). The Agni Purāṇa, does not give the Indra-Durvāsā-episode in this connection, but simply alludes to it as follows :—

राज्यलक्ष्मीस्थिरत्वाय यथेन्द्रेण पुरा श्रियः ।
स्तुतिः कृता तथा राजा जयार्थं स्तुतिमाचरेत् ॥ (237. 1)

...

Another different version of the Indra-Durvāsā-episode and the Śrī-stuti is found in the *Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa* (Ān. edn., Gaṇeśa-Kh., Adhs. 20 ff.). The *Śrī-stuti* of the Bv. P. (called *Lakṣmī-stotra* there ; 21. 13c) is quite different from that of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. According to the Bv. P., this Lakṣmī-stotra was imparted to Indra by Hari for regaining the favour of Goddess Lakṣmī. It runs as follows :—

देवि त्वां स्तोतुमिच्छामि न क्षमाः स्तोतुमीश्वराः ।
बुद्धेरगोचरां सूक्ष्मां तेजोरूपां सनातनीम् ।
अत्यनिर्वचनीयां च को वा निर्वक्तुमीश्वरः ॥ २७ ॥

स्वेच्छामयीं निराकारां भक्तानुग्रहविग्रहाम् ।
स्तौमि वाङ्मनसोः पारां किं वाऽहं जगदम्बिके ।। २८ ।।

परां चतुर्णां वेदानां पारबीजं भवार्णवे ।
सर्वसस्याधिदेवीं च सर्वासामपि संपदाम् ।। २९ ।।

योगिनां चैव योगानां ज्ञानानां ज्ञानिनां तथा ।
वेदानां वै वेदविदां जननीं वर्णयामि किम् ।। ३० ।।

यया विना जगत् सर्वमबीजं निष्फलं ध्रुवम् ।
यथा स्तनंधयानां च विना मात्रा सुखं भवेत् ।। ३१ ।।

प्रसीद जगतां माता रक्षास्मानतिकातरान् ।
वयं त्वच्चरणाम्भोजे प्रपन्नाः शरणं गताः ।। ३२ ।।

नमः शक्तिस्वरूपायै जगन्मात्रे नमो नमः ।
ज्ञानदायै बुद्धिदायै सर्वदायै नमो नमः ।। ३३ ।।

हरिभक्तिप्रदायिन्यै मुक्तिदायै नमो नमः ।
सर्वज्ञायै सर्वदायै महालक्ष्म्यै नमो नमः ।। ३४ ।।

कुपुत्राः कुत्रचित् सन्ति न कुत्रापि कुमातरः ।
कुत्र माता पुत्रदोषं तं विहाय च गच्छति ।। ३५ ।।

स्तनंधयेभ्य इव मे हे मातर्देहि दर्शनम् ।
कृपां कुरु कृपासिन्धो त्वमस्मान् भक्तवत्सले ।। ३६ ।। (Adh. 22)

In all these stotras *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī* has also been conceived as the personified *Vidyā* and as the Goddess who bestows knowledge (*jñāna*) and intelligence (*buddhi*) also. She has, therefore, been called *Sarasvatī* in the Śrī-stuti of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.]

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

THE PURĀṆAS AS AUTHORITY FOR THE HIGHEST TRUTH

"Some historical truth is the nucleus of every Purāṇa. The object of Purāṇas is to teach mankind the sublime truth in various forms; and even if they do not contain any historical truth, they form a great authority for us in respect of the highest truth which they inculcate......; and for the purpose of estimating the philosophical truth contained in any Purāṇa, we need not consider the question whether the personages treated of therein were really material men or were fictitious characters. The object of the Purāṇas was the education of mankind, and the sages who constructed them contrived to find some historical personages and to superimpose upon them all the best or worst qualities just as they wanted to, and laid down the rules of morals for the conduct of mankind. Is it necessary that a demon with ten heads (Daśamukha) should have actually lived as stated in the Rāmāyaṇa? It is the representation of some truth which deserves to be studied apart from the question whether Daśamukha was a real or a fictitious character. You can now depict Kṛishṇa in a still more attractive manner, and the description depends upon the sublimity of your ideals, but there stands the grand philosophy contained in the Purāṇas".

—SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

(*Swami Vivekananda's Works*, Mayavati
Memorial Editions, Vol. V. Page 137).

PURĀṆAS AS THE VEHICLE OF INDIA'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BY

JAYA CHAMARAJA WADIYAR

[सर्गप्रतिसर्गादिपञ्चलक्षणात्मकेषु पुराणेषु भारतीयेतिहासपरम्परा सुरक्षिता वर्तते । परंत्वियमितिहासपरम्परा विदेशीयानाम् इतिहासपरम्पराया भिद्यते । 'पुराण' शब्दनिर्वचनेनैव प्रतिभाति यत् पुराण-वाङ्मये सर्वमेव पुराणं नवीनं भूत्वा पुनरवतरति । अतएव पुराणकाराणां दृष्ट्यां पुराणाख्यानानां बाह्यपरता गौणैवासीत्, यतस्तेषां बाह्यघटनानां कालक्रमस्य याथार्थ्यस्य च प्रतिपादने नास्ति मुख्योऽभिप्रायः; किन्तु नित्यप्रवर्त्तमानानां लोकवार्तानां मानवमनोवृत्तीनां च आख्यानशैल्या विवेचने तासामादर्शोन्मुखीकरणे च पुराणानां प्रधानं तात्पर्यं वर्तते । पुनश्च, पुराणानि खलु वेदार्थसाराणि वेदोपबृंहणार्थानि च कथ्यन्ते । अतस्तेषाम् इतिहासवृत्तवर्णनमपि परमार्थोपदेशदृष्ट्यैव । अतिपरिमितकालगणनया विदेशीयानामितिहासः प्रवर्त्तते, पुराणवर्णिता कल्पमन्वन्तरयुगादिकालगणना तु स्वसम्प्रदायमतबद्धदृष्टीनां विदेशीयानां कल्पनायामवकाशमेव न लभते ।

पुराणेषु मानवजीवनस्य विभिन्नपक्षाणां विवेचनं विद्यते, सृष्टिविकासक्रमस्य चेतिहासोऽपि तत्रोपलभ्यते । पुराणान्येव तत् परं साधनमासन् येन परं सूक्ष्मं तत्त्वज्ञानमपि भारतीयमनीषिभिः सुरोचकेनेतिहासेन सह जनेषु लीलयैव सम्यक् समावेशितम् । पुराणोपलब्धस्य इतिहासस्य भारतीयदृष्ट्या किं तत्त्वं वर्तते, कथं च तेन व्यवहारक्षेत्रेऽध्यात्मक्षेत्रे च पुराणर्षीणां कल्पना दृष्टिश्च परं विस्तारं नीतेति सर्वमस्मिँल्लेखे विदुषा लेखकेन सुष्ठु प्रतिपादितम् ।]

Our ancient historical tradition has come to be embodied in the Purāṇas. The word '*purāṇa*' ordinarily means old. But in orthodox tradition Purāṇas are described as ever fresh even as they are old—*purāpi navaṁ purāṇam*. This indicates the manner in which ancient events are narrated. These events are not historical in the narrow sense of the term. They are things that cannot be chronologically dated. They are events which are not so much outward as inward. They are events in the mental history of the human race inhabiting India. Psychologically also they are extremely important in so far as they represent the myths of the race which, according to the psychologist Jung, are the collective unconscious of the race. They also represent what is called the 'ethos' of our people which expresses itself in our way of living and thinking, in our modes of worship, in our customs, in our conception of the universe, in our idea of God and the relation between that God and man, in our ideas and ideals which find their concrete expression in our social organization and institutions, and in the arts that we pursue.

As to what constitutes the content of the Purāṇas, we are told by our own ancient writers that they depict the process of evolution and involution of the cosmos ("sargaśca pratisargaśca"), the aeons and periods of development (like Yugas, Manvantaras, Kalpas and Mahākalpas), the history of the dynasties of the rulers who governed the land (vaṁśānucarita) and so forth. One of the items of valuable information we gather from the Purāṇas is that India has been throughout the home of the Aryans, and it is from here that the Aryans expanded in different directions and to different countries. The Purāṇas are thus the recorders of historical facts. At the same time they are also the repositories of the myths of the people out of which emanate the Gods and Goddesses of its pantheon, what legends are connected with them, what they stand for and how we have to understand them and worship them. The Purāṇas also contain the stories and legends which have proved to be the unfailing source of inspiration for our poets and philosophers, and a source of great delight to children and ordinary folk who derive great satisfaction from the story-element in them. The rich imagination of which the Purāṇas are the store-house has borne great fruit in the life of the people of Hindu India.

The Purāṇas might also be said to possess a gazetteer section which is sometimes called *Bhuvanakośa*. For example, we have references to Madhya-deśa, Uttarāpatha and so on. The Digvijayas of our emperors described by our classical poets follow this geo-physical pattern. Such a pattern as this also became a basis of old Indian geo-politics.

A strange element of continuity that pervades the Purāṇas is provided by the continuous mention in the Purāṇas of sages or ṛṣis who are just the same as the ṛṣis of the Vedas. This is in utter defiance of any historical or chronological sense ordinarily associated with history. But here it is more the ideological continuity than chronological continuity proving again that the ṛṣis mentioned in them are not of a line but are of all time and for all time.

We are now here more particularly concerned with the philosophy of history of which the Purāṇas are the vehicles. The Purāṇas were traditionally looked upon by our great philosopher-teachers as treatises expository of the ancient, eternal, and valid truths. They called it 'elaborations of the truths contained in the Veda'—*Vedopabṛṁhaṇaśāstra*. The Purāṇas were considered as the only vehicles through which the profoundest philosophical truths could be made to permeate the mass-mind. And the Purāṇas did this work most efficiently as could be judged by the way in which the truths contained in the Purāṇas have been impressed on the mind of the people who were not very learned. By means of the spoken word and by means of folk-plays and dramas, feasts and festivals, enactments in temples of the heroic deeds of the Purāṇic heroes and heroines, the Purāṇas were able to keep alive in the mass-mind certain ideas, ideals, thoughts and images which even to this day constitute the kernel of the mass-mind in India. The great role that myths, and in this case the Purāṇas, have played and can play in captivating the mass-mind for fixing it to certain goals, and a certain vision or darśana which would go on haunting it, has been recognised by all thinkers.

What is the philosophy of history pertaining to the Hindu mind that these Purāṇas have successfully conveyed ? For one thing it has given a vast compass to the speculations of the Hindu mind. Maurice Maeterlinck in his book on 'Mountain

Paths' significantly remarks that while the Western mind gets frightened of thinking aeons due to its limited chronological way of thinking and due to theological reasons, Hindu mind is capable of calmly and tranquilly contemplating millions and millions of years in the procession of events in its Purāṇic history. The conception of geological ages gave a shock to the Western mind accustomed to the Biblical dates assigned to creation. The Hindu mind, however, accepts without a fuss the conception of Yugas—the four of them coming in recurring cycles—and remains again unperturbed by what the modern geology unfolds about the geological ages like glacial or pleistocene and the like. The Manvantaras of the Purāṇic lore are equally astounding to the modern mind.

Such conceptions as that of the Yugas and the notion of them as cyclical and as all eternal recurrence excites the minds of historians. According to this conception the portion of history which is determinable chronologically is the most insignificant fragment as against the vast background of a historical process, the beginnings of which cannot be traced, and the end of which also is inconceivable. It is an eternal process of becoming, in which the formation of worlds, man's civilizations and cultures, their rise or fall, constitute an eternal drama enacted by a power which is too mysterious to be ordinarily comprehended. That power is the *sūtradhāra*, the holder of the strings of this huge marionette play, who enacts this great show we call the world. Hence we find the Purāṇas frequently recurring to the theme that the world process is the *līlā* of God. The concept *līlā* implies a spontaneity or a creativity and an unfoldment of a theme which has for its purpose divine play. It is a frequent theme in the Purāṇas that the Divine Being has no unsatisfied desires to fulfil. It has the characteristic of *Satyakāmatva* and *Satyasaṁkalpatva*. So sab specie eternatis, the process of history is not teleological.

But sab specie temporalis, it has a purpose. From the point of view of the finite individual the world process is a stage set for the enactment of its own individual past. The marionette has as its purpose the playing to the tune of the wire-puller or the *sūtradhāra*. Speaking in more general terms, the finite individuals go through the historical process or the process of becoming in order to get rid of its finiteness. In this sense *saṁsāra* or the world-cycle provides for the individual soul the means or the appurtenances of its own unfoldment, hindered by conditions which offer an impediment to this growth. The necessary condition of growth is to fight against these impediments, to overcome them and emerge triumphant out of the necessary struggle. Without challenge there is no growth or development. It is this inner rhythm of challenge and response that constitutes the spark of the individual soul. To overcome Māyā or the miasma of ignorance or *avidyā* that hides the intrinsic nature of the soul to oneself is itself part of the struggle and part of the spiritual struggle for self-realization. Such is mainly the philosophy of history that is adumbrated in the Purāṇas.

THE PURĀṆAS IN VYAVAHĀRA PORTIONS OF MEDIAEVAL SMṚITI WORKS

BY

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

[स्मृतीनां व्यवहारांशा धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धेषु समुद्धृताः समालोचिताश्च । पूर्वं तु व्यवहारविषये स्मृतीनामेव प्रधानं प्रामाण्यं सम्मतमासीत्, व्यवहारशास्त्रिभिश्च तासामेव व्यवहार-वचनानि स्वतन्त्रप्रमाणत्वेनोपन्यस्तान्यासन् । पुराणानां च प्रामाण्यं प्रायशो दानव्रतोपवासदेवपूजादीनां धार्मिककृत्यानां विषये एव स्वीकृतमासीत्, प्राचीननिबन्धकारैरपि प्रायो दानादिधार्मिककृत्यविषयेष्वेव पुराणानां वचनान्युद्धृतानि । यद्यपि पुराणेष्वपि व्यवहारांशा वर्तन्ते, परन्तु ते स्मृतीनामुपजीवकत्वेन हेतुना न स्मृतिवत् स्वतन्त्रप्रमाणकोटिमारूढा अभवन्, यतः स्मृतिपुराणयोर्विरोधे सति स्मृतीनामेव प्रामाण्यं स्वीकृतमासीत्, तदनन्तरं, मध्ययुगीयेषु निबन्धेषु पुराणानां व्यवहारांशा अपि स्मृतीनामिव स्वतन्त्रप्रमाणगोचराः बभूवुः, स्मृतिपुराणयोर्विरोधश्च स्मृतिद्वयविरोधवत् समाधेय इति मतं प्रचलितम् । धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धेषु व्यवहारपक्षेऽपि पुराणानि स्मृतिभिः समतां कथं कदा चारोपितानीति रोचकः प्रश्नोऽस्मिँल्लेखे व्यवहारशास्त्रप्राध्यापकैः आंग्लदेशीयैः "डैरट" महोदयैः सप्रमाणं समीक्षितः । केषां केषां पुराणानां च व्यवहारवचनानि धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धकारैः स्वनिबन्धेषु प्रमाणत्वेन समुद्धृतानीत्यप्यत्र लेखे सम्यग् विवृतं वर्तते ।]

The question of the function of Purāṇic citations in dharmaśāstra treatises is somewhat involved. Why, we may ask, did the writers use purāṇas at all ? The admission of the purāṇic literature as sources of law was gradual and slow. That purāṇas existed from very early times, and that they could be referred to by jurists is certain.[1] But it is not clear that they contained rules similar with those cited in our mediaeval nibandhas. On the contrary, although it is clear that from very early times material in the then extant purāṇas was in fact consulted, a doctrine developed that Purāṇas were of subordinate and indirect authority, to be consulted where smṛiti was silent, and not to be heard in contradiction of Veda or smṛiti.[2] They evidently developed chapters filling-out and supplementing true juridical literature, and were fit to be consulted in any context where direct conflict with smṛiti could be avoided. Had the jurists been confined to a small number of ancient smṛitis it would have been easy to understand why they called upon purāṇas. But long before our first nibandhas were compiled, the available smṛiti literature had been enriched by a mass of 'spurious' smṛitis, whose origin is still doubtful, and it is clear that even as late as the Sarasvatī-vilāsa, jurists were able to call upon extensive sources of better repute than purāṇas—or so it would seem from the surface. In non-legal matters the purāṇas early came into their own. A.S. Nataraja Ayyar says, "...... the nibandha works dealing with dāna, vrata and tīrthas are quoting the purāṇas in such profusion that they appear to be a string of quotations from the several purāṇas."[3] One may add the chapter rājadharma also.[3a] To a dharmaśāstrī habituated to consult nibandhas which make copious use of purāṇas in non-vyavahāra contents, it would not seem strange to find purāṇas cited in vyavahāra contents. Yet one must proceed with caution.

---

[1] Apas. Dh. S. I, xix, 13; xxix, 7; II, xxii, 3-4, all cited by Batuknath Bhattacharya, *Kalivarjyas*, Calcutta, 1943, 173.

Nominally vyavahāra is concerned with true law, much of which is administered by courts. Its sources must be known with absolute accuracy. It is notorious that many purāṇas are sectarian, and have biassed and extreme views. Even if we admit that their contents are not contrary to the Veda (which is no small admission) it does not follow that we are entitled to admit them as sources on matters where the smṛitis are available. The best we can say is that they codify *sadāchāra*. The only justification for administering fines and other punishments, or awarding victory to a party to litigation, is that the smṛiti literature, as propounded and explained by orthodox dharmaśāstris requires this to be done. If the smṛiti literature itself admits the purāṇas and epics as authorities, which it does, we must observe the limits which the smṛitis themselves provide.

---

[2] P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, 872-3. Veda-Vyāsa-smṛiti and the Saṁgraha cited.

[3] A. S. Nataraja Ayyar, *Mīmāṁsā Jurisprudence* (Allahabad, 1952), 47.

[3a] For a comprehensive survey of the utilisation of dharmaśāstra topics by the author-compilers of purāṇas see Kane, op. cit., I, 160-168. It will be seen that apart from the Agni and Skanda purāṇas (the first of which borrows extensively from Yājñavalkya) the vyavahāra section is not greatly favoured by them. For the great contributions of purāṇas to *rājadharma* (a topic upon which smṛiti is admittedly defective) see Hans Losch, *Rājadharma*—(Bonn, 1959). See Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, "The Vishṇudharmottarapurāṇa, its Dharmaśāstra contents and their utilisation in mediaeval digests", J.B.B.R.A.S., NS. xxviii, 1, 1953, 6-18.

Smṛitis are by no means willing to admit purāṇas as their equals[4]—and the conclusion should be that where a purāṇic proposition conflicts with smṛiti, whether by relating something which the smṛiti prefers to ignore (which is as much a conflict as direct contradiction), or by making some proposition which the smṛiti in terms rejects, the court is not to take account of purāṇas. Yet we find nibandhakāras at a late stage actually asserting that purāṇa is on a par with smṛiti,[5] and that a conflict in terms between a smṛiti and a rule of purāṇa is to be resolved in the same manner or manners as a conflict between two smṛitis.[6] We should expect from this to find purāṇa relied upon not merely to supplement smṛiti in the vyavahāra portions of mediaeval nibandhas, but also to control or modify it or its interpretation, and even to contradict and nullify it. This is actually the case, and the way in which this happened deserves scrutiny.

First we must recollect that the atmosphere in which our authors worked was not conducive to strict adherence to a limited set of sources. Particularly in matters of legal importance the public must have expected constantly that the opinions provided by the jurists should not merely relate to the problems in hand but also depend upon a written authority not too remotely relevant to the opinion. An ingenious person could derive his opinion from an unexpected quarter, but ingenuity has limits. As more and more groups governed by ancient customs in all departments of life came to require the application to themselves of dharmaśāstra, the ingenuity of the Śāstris must have been more and more taxed. So long as the smṛitis served as an umbrella, their opinions could be said to depend upon the wisdom of ṛishis, who, for all their being human, had exceptional access to divine wisdom. And this umbrella was progressively stretched by the fabrication of smṛiti material, masquerading as immemorially ancient. Before we pursue our point, we must pause to see what was actually happening when 'spurious' smṛiti-material was circulating.

---

[4] A smṛiti quoted by Aparārka on Yājñ. I, 7 (quoted by Kane, III, 873).

[5] Nṛisiṁhaprasāda, Saṁskārasāra, cited by Kane, I, 409, noticed by A.S. Altekar, *Sources of Hindu Dharma in its Socio-Religious Aspects* (Sholapur, 1953), 24. The best study of the relationship to smṛiti of purāṇa, showing the tardy admission of purāṇa and finally almost complete equating of purāṇa and smṛiti in some writers, is the series of articles on the sources of Dharma by R. C. Hazra (the greatest exponent of purāṇa at the present time) in *Our Heritage*. The problem of the use of Purāṇas is handled competently by Joydev Ganguly in his 'Basic authorities utilised in the smṛiti-works of Mithilā', *Our Heritage*, III (1955), and following at pp. 261-8.

[6] Mitra-Miśra, commentary on Yājñ. II, 21, cited by Kane, III, 873; trans. J. R. Gharpure, *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* (collection of Hindu law texts, II, pt. 3, Bombay, 1938), pp, 712-3 (where Vijñāneśvara and Śūlapāṇi can conveniently be compared).

No one supposes for a moment that a jurist in a difficulty invented a smṛiti, passed it off as a lost ṛishi's work, and then committed it to writing in a nibandha. That inventions sometimes occurred need not be doubted, human nature being what it is. But false smṛitis would not get into circulation by this means. It is much more plausible to suppose that in the relatively few centres in which dharmaśāstra was regularly taught, libraries would be accumulated over the centuries which would contain fragments of smṛitis of great antiquity. To these, additions would be made from time to time as learned men following a particular Śākhā and brought up in particular living traditions of dharma[7] would recite what they had received from their teachers as the rule in their *sampradāya*. This naturally received the name of the ṛishi who was traditionally the teacher of the lineages in question, and whose name was free for such an ascription. In course of time the collections would be reviewed. An impetus to examine them lay ready to hand in the lists of ṛishis preserved in the ancient smṛitis which had not ceased to be handed on entire. If the material, when inspected, seemed to be sound, it would re-enter the academic world under tha name of the ṛishi whose authority had attached itself to some fragment. Even in regard to unquestioned smṛitis we find two processes at work : firstly the text, if it seems difficult or out-of-date or no longer relevant to current needs, is interpreted to make it fit, artificial though the interpretation might be ; and secondly, if interpretation could not perform this task, the text is altered upon the assumption that the reading must have become corrupt due to generations of oral tradition. That teachers consciously correct and unconsciously distort their materials to make them more relevant and meaningful to their students is well-known. The processes are seen at work in what Medhātithi tells us of the opinions about Manu current in his own day. Since these processes were already at work with regard to established smṛitis, there was no difficulty in circulating a 'spurious' smṛiti if its content was obviously more relevant, operative, urgent, or meaningful than the established smṛitis. One could not prove that the ślokas were invented by some one other than a ṛishi : the test of a śloka must be its orthodoxy and relevance, and these 'spurious' smṛitis easily passed the test,—and in view of these qualifications one would overlook mistakes of grammar, poverty of style, and the other signs which tell the historian that he is handling relatively recent and amateurishly-composed material. Once the copy is obtained from the centre of dharmaśāstra learning, it is not free from scrutiny and question, but in no time it becomes impossible to tell whether it is an ancient work. In those days the lives of manuscripts must have been shorter than they are to-day : they were given much more use, apart from the hazards which are common to both periods. Copying was frequent, multiplication constantly called-for. The jurist could seldom assert that he had a 'spurious' text in front of him ; and if it told him exactly what his readers wanted to hear, there was no incentive to doubt its sufficiency. One can hardly take a better illustration than the rule of priority of *bandhus* in the law of the Benares school.

---

[7] I have in mind Kumārila's views on 'local smṛitis' as reported by A. S. Nataraja Ayyar, op. cit., pp. 30f.

Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Ṛiju-mitāksharā, cites a text which is ascribed by him to no one at all, but which Bālambhaṭṭa ascribes to Vṛiddha-Śātātapa and Nīlakaṇṭha ascribes to Baudhāyana.[8] It was evidently a smṛiti of unknown origin, which obtained approval and circulated in, perhaps, more than one collection. Yet this very dubious authority is the hook upon which a whole chapter of law was hung ; and that could happen only because Vijñāneśvara approved of what was said, believed it to be true, and then gave it a special interpretation of his own.

In just such a situation purāṇa-material came to hand. The differences between purāṇa and smṛiti were striking. Firstly the purāṇas did not purport to be smṛitis, though they contained (at various stages) quantities of matter similar to, and in some cases identical with, smṛiti-material. Secondly, their very form and style precluded the supposition that they had Vedic authority of a direct character. They were evidently stories, compendia, encyclopedias, propaganda ; their value was not doubted, for the critic would have his eye to their intended effect as cultural missions, remedial literature devoted, like the Rāmāyaṇa itself, to moral rehabilitation as much as to intellectual edification. That human beings were the authors of purāṇas no one doubted. In some respects they contained 'good custom', though actual proof of the authenticity of the 'custom' was wanting. Moreover the Mīmāṁsā itself clarified the situation, giving to the itihāsas and purāṇas a very subordinate place, whether one took them as *arthavāda* material or as indirect evidence of lost smṛiti-material.[9] Yet, for all this, the smṛiti did mention the purāṇas as authorities ; there was always the difficulty of determining which were the ancient purāṇas to which the smṛiti referred, and since the authority of purāṇa in legal contents rested upon the assumption that *sadāchāra*, the practice of the virtuous, was codified in it, there was no reason to be too scrupulous to discover at which stage human traditions were intruded into an 'inspired' work.

---

[8] Mitāksharā, Dāyabhāga portion, trans. H.T. Colebrooke, II, vi, 1.

[9] A. S. Natarāja Ayyar, op. cit., pp. 40-3.

To re-write a purāṇa or a part thereof it was not necessary that one should be a dharmaśāstrī : a knowledge of law and custom was desirable, and more particularly a knowledge of where the *śāstra* was defective from the point of view of local practice; but a strong mind, firm prejudices, and sufficient determination (not to speak of admiring neighbours and colleagues) would soon launch on the world a new edition of an old purāṇa enriched and brought up to date so as to catch the eye of the professional jurist. In a generation or two, it would be impossible to determine how authoritative the text was. And if it contained rules which served a turn, the smṛiti's approval of the ancient purāṇas would serve to justify its use by a nibandhakāra. Thus we find in some authors a willingness to cite purāṇa even in *vyavahāra* contexts, and to impose upon the public, upon the authority of an obviously human and recent composition, obligations and sanctions which properly should come only from the Self-existent One himself.

We are now in a position to investigate the use of purāṇas by nibandhakāras in *vyavahāra* contexts. To anticipate the conclusion, it will be convenient to summarise the results at once. Firstly, the number of citations is small. Judged by the bulk of citation which is overwhelmingly smṛiti in character, (including 'spurious' smṛiti), the contribution from purāṇa is slight, and is therefore fairly easy to analyse. Secondly, not all the principal authors are fond of purāṇa citations. Some very respectable authors will not touch purāṇa material in their *vyavahāra* sections. Vijñāneśvara himself is a remarkable and important example. It will be difficult to find a purāṇa-citation in any earlier writer than Vijñāneśvara. The Vyavahāra-nirṇaya of Varadarāja contains one citation which may be from a purāṇa, though the ascription is uncertain and it has not been identified.[10] The relatively late work Nṛisiṁhaprasāda does not appear to contain any purāṇic citation in the vyavahāra portion. As for the rest, there seems to be no doubt how purāṇic material was introduced into the śāstra. The principal culprit was Lakshmīdhara, author-editor of the Kṛitya-kalpataru.[11] From the latter work stem, by different lines of descent, (i) the Mithilā works, including the Vivāda-ratnākara, the Vivāda-chandra, the Vivāda-chintāmaṇi and Vyavahāra-chintāmaṇi, the Daṇḍaviveka of Vardhamāna, and the Rājadharma-kaustubha of Anantadeva; (ii) late works such as the Vivādārṇavasetu and the Vivāda-bhaṅgārṇava which relied on Mithilā works; (iii) the Madana-ratnapradīpa; (iv) the works of scholars resident in Benares who became especially influential in western India, namely Kamalākara, with his Vivāda-tāṇḍava and Nirṇaya-Sindhu, and Nīlakaṇṭha with his Vyavahāra-mayūkha. Though Lakshmīdhara was an older contemporary, perhaps even a predecessor, of Vijñāneśvara, it seems that no more than a rumour of his gigantic digest reached the latter, who seems to have occupied himself little, or not at all, with a consideration of Lakshmīdhara's views.[12] The position was otherwise with Aparāditya, usually referred to as Aparārka.[13] We name after Aparārka, king of the Koṅkaṇa, a digest which masquerades as a commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛiti. The first southerner to interlard his citations with abundant purāṇa material is Aparārka. The editor of that work undoubtedly had before him either the Kṛitya-kalpataru (which is quite possible), or a detailed account of the sources which Lakshmīdhara used. The cases where Lakshmīdhara and Aparārka agree in citing purāṇas are sufficiently numerous to dispel any suspicion of a coincidence.

---

[10] K. V. Rangaswami's edn., p. 456.

3

---

[11] Lakshmīdhara, K. K. T. Brahmachārikāṇḍa, introd. by K. V. R. Aiyangar, pp. 31-2.

[12] The cryptic references to a *kalpa-vṛiksha* in the Mitāksharā may well indicate that he had heard of Lakshmīdhara's vast project. See K. V. R. Aiyangar's introd. to the K. K. T. Dānakāṇḍa, pp. 24-45.

[13] Aiyangar doubts whether the K. K. T. penetrated to the South (ibid., p. 4). He deals with the dates of Lakshmīdhara and Aparārka at pp. 21, 24, 44. There may have been an interval of a quarter of a century. In any case news of the scheme of the K. K. T. will have leaked out earlier. It seems that the K. K. T. was cited or utilised in Bengal about 1160 (ibid. p. 3).

After the publication of Aparārka's work, no southern writer would be likely to ignore purāṇa texts if they were suited to his purpose. Apart from Varadarāja (mentioned above), most make some use, more or less moderate, of purāṇas. The great Smṛiti-chandrikā includes many, though not all, that Aparārka used, and a few besides from the same or similar sources; less are employed by Hemādri; not more by Mādhavāchārya. The Sarasvatī-vilāsa, which is rich in unexpected citations, makes some use of purāṇas. Yet on the whole the bulk of purāṇa citations appear in northern works, western works of strong northern affiliations, and very late works which must depend upon the great northern works. Thus it is not surprising to find much purāṇa cited in the works attributed to the Maratha Maharaja of Tanjore, Sarabhoji, whose pandits were not confined to southern works.

Special mention should be made of the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā and the Dattaka-chandrikā. The latter need no longer be doubted to be a genuine work, earlier than the British period, if not much earlier. It appears that it depends to some extent upon the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā. The latter introduces numerous purāṇa texts not found elsewhere. The theoretical nature of the Datt. Mīm. has been commented upon frequently and there can be little doubt but that the author, Nandapaṇḍita, utilised 'spurious' purāṇa material which had no doubt accumulated at Benares in the way suggested above for the 'spurious' smṛitis. These fragments are not to be attributed to Lakshmīdhara's collections but to the spirit which was engendered by his technique and strengthened by the consistent tradition of the Mithilā jurists. The relative scarcity of purāṇa citations in the vyavahāra works of the Bengal school is not very significant. In the first place the literature of that school has not been very thoroughly reviewed for this purpose; secondly, it is difficult to conceive how Bengali jurists could have remained unaffected by Mithilā interest in purāṇas, and lastly, we know from Jīmūtavāhana and Raghunandana that the Bengalis had no objection in principle to utilising purāṇa, though they do this sparingly.

For what purposes was purāṇa resorted to ? (i) To supplement the smṛiti where smṛiti allowed the details to be filled in from local experience. The desire for completeness, the traditional Indian urge to make personal encyclopedias, led the purāṇa-adapters to insert material which the smṛitikāras either took for granted, or preferred not to systematise at that stage. Since this material must have corresponded with what was done in some place at some time, it was useful evidence of what was law. (ii) To vary the picture presented by the smṛiti, and to produce a composite entity differing from the smṛiti alone. This was in the process of reform. (iii) To contradict and abrogate the smṛiti, producing a picture which could not have been forecast from the smṛiti alone. Taking the purāṇa citations together, and ignoring whether or not they are still to be traced in current editions of purāṇas, have they any common features ? Apart from the earlier purāṇas, and those more regularly cited and competently compiled,[14] they are poor in style, and occasionally seem illiterate. Their tone is didactic and often very reactionary. A distinctly illiberal tinge is evident in the passages chosen. It is notable that the *kalivarjya* rules[15] are drawn in very large part from purāṇas. These tend always in the direction of tightening-up the law, removing what had previously been valid alternatives, and playing generally the step-mother to the public. Small wonder, if these tendentious and biassed sources were relied upon by the jurists, that the public in large part resisted the reforms. Finally, the purāṇas are readily drawn upon as authority for pains and penalties. The author-editors of these sources were men who believed in what we would now call 'a high moral tone'. They were busybodies, apparently, and humourlessly self-righteous. The tone they adopt may well be just (in places), but there is little hint of mercy. They despair of reforming humanity by appealing to a fear of the afterlife, to the

---

[14] Amongst these one would include the Matsya, Brahma, and Kālikā, and perhaps the Vishṇudharmottara. For the dates of upapurāṇas such as the Kālikā and Vishṇudharmottara see R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, I (Calcutta, 1958).

[15] See B. Bhattacharya, cited above.

891.2705
K15P · V.5

effects of *karma*, and the like. They exhort the king to punish, and one is compelled to conclude from the many examples shown in the nibandhas that it was to the purāṇa that we must turn if we wish for an authority that, quite apart from the plaintiff's remedy against his opponent in terms of a pecuniary or other sentence, the king is under a duty to search out and punish *suo motu* persons who ignore their neighbours' rights ; still more must he inflict punishment upon the loser in a civil action. This is not to suggest that, from the earliest times, it was not usual for the court to award a fine as well as damages against the losing party ; but the frequency with which purāṇas are cited on the subject of punishment shows that the part which the State had to play in the drama of moral weakness and redemption was in the eyes of purāṇic writers, a markedly (and perhaps dangerously) prominent one. The implication is that smṛiti, left to itself, would not necessarily lead to the same, or a similar, result. In short the role which purāṇa played in the working out of law reform in the mediaeval period was not a small one ; it is high time that it was charted.

The list of instances given below is probably not complete. It has been compiled with the aid of the invaluable *Dharmakośa* of Pandit Lakshmanśāstrī Joshi. A few additional references have been given. In each case a brief attempt has been made to show what relationship the citation bears to the smṛiti material available to the editor. The page-references are omitted in almost every case, where these are readily available from the *Dharma-kośa*-reference here supplied.

Instances of Purāṇic Citations in Vyavahāra Chapters

1. *Ādipurāṇa*. This purāṇa is cited only in the *dāyabhāga* chapter. It is a highly *restrictive* set of texts (Dh.K. I, 2,1383-4). First of all, it forbids the taking of substitute sons besides the *dattaka*, with an altogether headstrong severity, which the śāstra ultimately rejects. This is taken up by Aparārka, whence it is taken up by Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa and Mādhava ; it appears in the

112281

Northern works up to Bālam-bhaṭṭa and in the two works on adoption cited above. Nīlakaṇṭha and Kamalākara have it. Next we have four more texts of a *kalivarjya* character. *Kanyānām asavarṇānām* is cited by Devaṇṇa, Kamalākara and the authors of the Madanaratnapradīpa. It and the next, *vidhavāyāṁ prajotpattau* and *etāni lokaguptyartham* appear for the first time in Sarabhoji, with the exception of the latter's appearance in Bālam-bhaṭṭa, which suggests some earlier available source. The last, *ūḍhāyāḥ punar udvāho*, a highly controversial and (to some schools of thought) unwelcome text, forbidding widow-re-marriage, is cited by Devaṇṇa, the Madanaratna, Kamalākara, Anantadeva, Mitra Miśra who uses Maithila works extensively, and others. Note that for such extremely important subjects the jurists rely upon no better source than this ; the *kalivarjya* rules stem almost exclusively from purāṇa and late smṛiti ; and not only does smṛiti not provide for all the rules here brought in, but where it does provide for, e.g., the diminution of the scope of secondary sonship, it is much less restrictive than the purāṇa. Here is a case where the authority of purāṇa ought to have been questioned, if ever. More remarkable, the purāṇa which provides such important rules is not cited for anything else.

2. *Bhavishyapurāṇa.* This purāṇa is not much cited, and is cited in a curiously assorted variety of subjects. First, in regard to weights and measures (Dh. K. I, 1, 534)—a field where up-to-dateness is needed, if possible, and smṛiti is often inadequate and misleading : but it is cited only by so late a jurist as Vardhamāna. Then, to our great surprise, it is cited for the notorious rule that smṛiti is to be followed in accord with logic and equity, a rule we might have thought sufficiently established by the smṛiti of Bṛihaspati. The Vyavahāra-chintāmaṇi alone (Rocher's edn., text no. 10) cites *smṛtyarthayor virodhe tu arthaśāstrasya bādhanam* (a fact we knew already from smṛiti), *parasparavirodhe tu nyāyayuktaṁ pramāṇavat.* As we see from the context, Vāchaspati intends to indicate something more than Bṛihaspati said ; one method of reconciling smṛitis is to take the

one which is more reasonable in the actual case—rough justice, rustic mīmāṁsā, and not quite what the jurists had been recommending in a quandary of that kind. Bhavishyapurāṇa texts are called upon also in the chapter on *sāhasa*. They deal with the very controversial and worrying topic of self-defence and justifiable injuries (mayhem and manslaughter). They resolve doubts in a chapter where sin and crime never settled down happily ; but they have a rather severe look about them. The protection offered is excessive in some cases by modern standards. As we see from Dh. K. I. 3,1655, they were cited by Mitra Miśra and Vardhamāna and some later works. They appear not to have been popular.

3. *Brahmapurāṇa.* By contest this purāṇa was more used. First we have the vitally important text (by no means supported by smṛiti) that a husband may kill his wife's lover if he catches him in the act (Dh. K. I. 3, 1654). But this is cited only by Anantadeva ! one can see how the rule might penetrate into Indian law, and might attract many jurists : but in fact it did not ; and the purāṇa was not thought fit to cite for the purpose by jurists of high standing. Next we have the altogether reactionary, and in places silly, texts on substitute sons who can claim, and what shares are to be taken by genuine substitute sons that compete. In fact, most of these rules did not acquire a following in practice. One can see why a ruler in the Konkana would like the harsh rule about dāsīputras : that would suit a Malabar mentality, with its notorious relations between Brahmans and others outside marriage. But it certainly conflicted with smṛitis such as Yājñavalkya: In the end the Mitāksharā attitude won. The wide spread of citations of these harsh texts is indicated in Dh. K. I,2,1374-5, where we see that Lakshmīdhara's Kṛityakalpataru was responsible for it, at any rate in large part. The more exact definition of the secondary sons, and the means by which they were acquired, may have attracted earlier jurists : but that hardly justifies the wholesale introduction of these new speculative rules which had little or no smṛiti authority behind them and were in

places contradicted by smṛiti. Next we come (Dh. K. I,2,1118-9) to texts dealing with the duty and status of widows. These actually recommend satī. We know we are in a late epoch of Hindu legal thought. In Aparārka's time satī was not uncommon in the Deccan. It is not surprising to find him citing the texts. Yet in the north they got no further than the Rātnākara, until Jagannātha, in the British period, unwisely resurrected them. Finally we have some constructive texts dealing with the duties of owner and cowherd respectively. The law on this subject was the model or type for many relationships of employed and employee ; it therefore had to be handled with care. One talked of cows, but one had many other valuables in mind. In Dh. K. 1,2,921 we have three texts of a curious description. I believe there was not a single smṛiti counterpart. The first recommends the death-penalty for herdsmen who abandon their herds in a forest. The eagerness with which this text is cited from the Kalpataru to the British period (Vivādārṇava-setu, i.e. Halhed's Gentoo Code) is astonishing ! Then we have penalties attached to the herdsman's loss of a cow while in his custody (this was not quite so popular, for it made the cowherd virtually an insurer); and the foolish text which attempts to mitigate this, imposing a penalty upon an owner who allows the herdsman to take out a cow that is sick (apparently an absolute liability)—a text which obtained greater support, at any rate in northern India. A man who utters such texts is no jurist, though a jurist, faced with such rubbish, might find it possible to utilise it. But it is clear that not all our venerable authorities thought fit to do so. Nārada was good enough for them, or Kātyāyana.

4. *Devīpurāṇa.* The Vivāda-ratnākara seems to have had access to a private source here. Chaṇḍeśvara cites material of a very arthaśāstra-like appearance urging the king to seek out evidence of ascetics and the like consorting with harlots and carrying on in a manner not befitting their profession. It is in a later stage of the development of criminal law that rules of police find their way into the code. On the whole (Dh. K.

I,3,1943) Vardhamāna finds a use for the Ratnākara's texts; but no one else does.

5. *Garuḍapurāṇa*. This purāṇa is cited only by Bālambhaṭṭa for the proposition that one should try to procreate a son by any means. It is not evident why he requires this text (Dh. K. I,2,1376). Smṛiti would have been (it seems) amply sufficient, not to speak of Śruti. On the whole the instance is best ignored.

6. *Kālikā-purāṇa*. Here we reach one of the more commonly-utilised purāṇas. The Kālikā-p. finds very important places in which to appear. This purāṇa was evidently written by a specialist, a practitioner. He knew the world for which he was writing, the gaps in the smṛitis, and his function in attempting to fill them. At Dh. K. I, 1,480 we have valuable texts on ordeals. All the northern works of any standing from Lakshmīdhara onwards use them. In the Vyavahāra-chintāmaṇi they appear at texts 590-2. Details of the various ordeals which were apparently in vogue appear at Dh. K. I, 1,484, 498, 506, 522: we can see that the *agni-vidhi* was highly thought of, for many jurists use the ślokas relating to it. We have every reason to suppose that a good service was done by systematising and recording this information. He is cited by Raghunandana and Miśra on weights and measures (Dh. K. I, 1,535). He has another useful remark to make about plaintiffs in a civil action (or actions in general) at Dh. K. I, 1,208. It is not clear where he improves on the smṛiti, but it appears that he has a point to add which was not available to the Kalpataru from elsewhere. Finally we have the vast tract on adoption, part of which is widely cited (Dh. K. I. 2,1376-7). First of all, the attitude is similar to that taken in the Ādi-p. The earlier text is less widely used. Then we come to the rules relative to *dattaka* sons. It is quite evident that the scheme is an attempt to reform the existing institution, which evidently permitted many informalities, and changes of family in a variety of situations. The purāṇa attempts to regularise and codify what the smṛiti had left inconveniently vague. Yet these ślokas are not relied upon by authors earlier

4

than the Dattakamīmāṁsā, which therefore takes the credit for introducing them to dharmaśāstra.

7. *Liṅgapurāṇa.* I have not found a citation of this purāṇa in a vyavahāra chapter except for eight ślokas cited by the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā (Dh. K. I, 2,1376) on the curious subject of secondary *daughters.* This very shadowy subject is discussed by Nandapaṇḍita alone, and it is not at all surprising that he has to rely upon purāṇas and itihasas for his authorities, which I am afraid are, in this case, somewhat suspect.

8. *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.* A very curious selection of topics is catered for by this purāṇa. The point that one who 'enters fire', being an untouchable, without 'authority,' becomes a slave of an untouchable in the next birth is hardly vyavahāra, but it appears in a vyavahāra context (Dh. K. I, 2,839). It is cited seriously by the Kalpataru and Ratnākara. Very useful definitions of grāma, pura etc., which look like nītiśāstra material (Dh. K. I, 2,962) are thought worthy of citation by the Ratnākara, by Vardhamāna and by the Setu under the heading *sīmā-vivāda,* Under *dāyabhāga* we have a somewhat useful text dealing with what we now call '*sagotra-sapiṇḍas*'. The text reveals (Dh. K. I, 2,1530) that a connexion between inheritance, and propinquity therefore, and the giving of *piṇḍas* in the *pārvaṇa-śrāddha* were connected. Not unnaturally one of the ślokas is taken up and used by Jīmūtavāhana himself. The very respectable authority, Harinātha (c. 1300-1350), cites the other. The law of inheritance is notoriously defective in smṛiti ; yet this purāṇa text is not cited by any other authorities than I have mentioned, or so it would seem.

9. *Matsyapurāṇa.* By contrast this purāṇa is a rich mine. Its author, like that of the Kālikā-p., was a knowledgeable man with practical ideas and some legal experience. Of the eighteen titles of law not less then eleven are contributed to by him. On *dāyabhāga* he tells us (Dh. K. I, 2,1383), very much as the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. does, that sapiṇḍaship includes the degrees that participate in *piṇḍa-lepa.* It is not so very strange

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल काँगड़ी

that few and obscure authorities cite him. Haradatta may well have obtained information of this purāṇa from Aparārka, who uses it often. Further use in the south is not found. The two works on adoption, however, cite it. The strict connexion between inheritance and spiritual benefit did not appeal to many besides the Bengal school; but it is curious that the Smṛiti-chandrikā, which sympathised with that viewpoint, has no use for the text. On *upanidhi* the purāṇa gives a penalty for failing to restore a deposit (Dh. K. I, 2, 756), and it is probably the rule regarding the penalty which appealed to the Ratnākara and to Mitra-miśra; another rule concerning misdeeds by a depositary is picked up by Aparārka and the Ratnākara only, for it seems to have been superfluous in the eyes of others. On *asvāmivikraya* there appears another severe rule laying down a penalty for knowingly selling the property of another (Dh. K. I, 2, 769). For some reason it did not appeal to any jurist but the Ratnākara and (strangely) Raghunandana. One suspects that smṛiti was sufficient for the remainder. Two strange penalties are laid down at Dh. K. I, 2. 789 and 808 respectively. Aparārka cites this purāṇa for the rule that a penalty may be exacted from a priest who accepts an invitation to perform at a function and then lets the inviter down; again a great many authors, starting from the Kalpataru, cite him for the surprising rule that the king must fine to the extent of a gold coin anyone who fails to pay up whatever he may have promised. Extreme as this rule seems to be, it evidently had an appeal. The principle that certain gifts promised for dharma could be exacted at law was not unknown to smṛiti; but no smṛiti seems to have gone so far as this. That one could not lawfully give to a third party what one had promised to another was a very different (and well-accepted) proposition. But it plainly did not serve its purpose in practice. Penalties again are laid down for various acts of treason (Dh. K. I, 3, 1655). These are rather specific and savour of arthaśāstra. On the perennial subject of the *ātatāyin* there are two useful ślokas of a fairly unobjectionable nature. They are cited only by Bālam-bhaṭṭa, apart from the latter of them, which is also used by Vardhamāna. Of much wider appeal were his texts on adultery, rape, defiling virgin, and bestiality. These subjects can always bear with some particularity, and, though the sense and intent of the smṛitis has never been in doubt, the much more particular and definite rules of the purāṇa, with penalties specified (Dh. K. I, 3, 1892) were known to and used, selectively, by the Kalpataru, Aparārka, the Ratnākara, the Chintāmaṇi, Vardhamāna, and later works. There is much to be said for obtaining extra light on serious sexual offences, their proof, and suitable penalties; and one can readily forgive resort to this purāṇa. The exact contribution made by the purāṇa deserves an independent study. In the same category comes the interesting rule which lays down a penalty for handing over a faulty maiden, or for having intercourse with a maiden after detecting a fault in her (Dh. K. I, 3, 1975). This text appealed, however, only to Vardhamāna. One feels that the smṛiti already provided adequately for the first and possibly for the second question. It was sufficient to disallow rescinding of the contract if the complainant had had intercourse; whether he should be penalised as well may seem an unnecessary question to some. A rather curious rule in relation to *steyam* appears at Dh.K. I, 3, 1767. Here again the point which relates to entry to dwelling-places, appealed only to Vardhamāna. Perhaps it was not sufficiently constructive to require admission to other nibandhas. Interesting and useful texts on fraud, which at once recall arthaśāstra, appear at Dh. K. I, 2, 855. Aparārka, the Kalpataru, the Smṛiti-chandrikā, Ratnākara, Sarasvatī vilāsa and Vardhamāna take all or some of the five texts. They handle frauds by teachers, and frauds practised on, and by, prostitutes. Once again, the motive force here is the desire to see such offenders criminally punished: the civil penalty is not enough. Undoubtedly, here was a topic where no smṛiti was sufficiently explicit or detailed. After all these strict rules it is strange to find our author cited for the proposition that a good woman should be cherished (Dh. K. I, 2, 1118): by Jagannātha of all people—he must have become sentimental in his old age.

10. *Padmapurāṇa*—This purāṇa is cited twice, by the rather suspect Samuchchaya of Sarabhoji (Dh. K. I, 1,480) on ordeals ; and by our not-very-selective friend Nandapaṇḍita in the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā on the elusive secondary daughter (Dh. K. I, 2, 1376).

11. The *Skandapurāṇa* is cited only by the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā on the secondary (here, purchased) daughter (Dr. K. I, 2, 1375), and by Vardhamāna on weights and measures (Dh. K. I, 1, 534).

12. The *Varāhapurāṇa* is cited by Haradatta and by Vardhamāna (an old pair) on the subject of weights and measures (Dh. K. I, 1, 535).

13. *Vishṇuhpurāṇa.* This is cited in the chapter *strī-saṁgrahaṇa* for a rather wide rule on bestiality. No doubt it was useful and filled a gap in the śāstra. (Dh. K. I, 3, 1892). It is cited only in Vardhamāna.

14. *Vishṇudharmottarapurāṇa.* A difficult passage from this purāṇa is cited on the subject of weights and measures (Dh. K. I, 1,535) by Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa, the Madana-ratnapradīpa (p. 99 of Kane's edition), and Mitra-miśra. On the same subject an unidentified purāṇa is also cited by a similar sprinkling of northern and southern works.

Conclusion

We have very briefly reviewed the contribution made by 14 or 15 purāṇas to the vyavahāra section of dharmaśāstra as seen through the eyes of established nibandhakaras. It emerges that they use purāṇa but seldom. They need it to supplement, to clarify or modify, and sometimes to contradict smṛiti. This occurs rarely, but often in important contexts. It seems as if the jurists fall back upon purāṇa only when they must, but once they have decided to do so they are not shamefaced about it. How it came about that fabrications not older than the 9th, 10th, or even 11th centuries came to be cited solemnly as juristic authorities by writers of the 16th century and later has been suggested in the introduction to this short study. There is no reason to suppose that any of our writers knowingly perpetrated a fraud on the public by palming off forgeries as if they were the genuine thing. There was no apparatus then at work which could separate the wheat from the chaff. We know that the jurists were capable of objective study[16], but their chief test seems to have been *sense*. If the meaning of the alleged purāṇa was acceptable, that was sufficient in the way of credentials to secure its admission—at any rate into the work of many influential writers.

---

[16] In particular, note the cautiousness of Nīlakaṇṭha, Vyav. May., ed. Kane, p. 114 (noted by K. V. R. Aiyangar, *Rājadharma*, p. 98). He rejects a Kālikāpurāṇa passage because it is not to be found in all copies of that purāṇa. This agrees too with his refusal to treat purāṇa material as precisely equivalent to smṛiti : ibid., noticed by Kane, op. cit., III, 873. Ballālasena, author of the Dānasāgara and other works in the third quarter of the 12th century (we note that Pandits such as Raghunandana ascribed the Dānasāgara substantially to King Ballālasena's *Guru* Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, as is natural), exercised considerable discrimination. His criteria are set out in the passage printed at Lakshmīdhara, *Kṛityakalpataru*, Dānakāṇḍa (ed. K. V. R. Aiyangar, 1941), pp. 337-345. The fact is alluded to by Kane, op. cit., I, 340-1. Attention is drawn particularly to verses 57-68.

PURAṆA DIGESTS

BY

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

[स्मृतिनिबन्धेषु धर्मप्रमाणविषये स्मृतय एव प्राधान्येन समुद्धृता वर्त्तन्ते पुराणानि च तत्र गुणीभूतान्येव। परन्तु माधवाचार्येण पराशरमाधवीये, नीलकण्ठेन आचारमयूखे, शिवदासेन च ज्योतिर्निबन्धसर्वस्वे 'पुराणसार'नामकात् पुराणनिबन्धादपि पुष्कलवचनानि समुद्धृतानि। अतो ज्ञायते स्मृतिनिबन्धा इव पुराणनिबन्धा अपि पूर्वकाले प्रचारमलभन्त, येषु प्राधान्येन पुराणविषयाः प्रतिपादिता आसन् तत्र च पुराणवचनानि स्मृतिवचनानामपेक्षया बाहुल्येनोद्धृतानि। एतादृशा अनेके पुराणनिबन्धाः—'पुराणसर्वस्वम्', पुराणसारः', पुराणसारसंग्रहः', 'पुराणार्थसंग्रहः', 'पुराणसमुच्चयः' इत्यादयः – अधुनाऽपि इंडिया-आफिस-लाइब्रेरी, बोडलियन लाइब्रेरी, अदियार लाइब्रेरी, एशियाटिक सोसाइटी, संस्कृतसाहित्यपरिषत् (कलकत्ता), संस्कृतकालेज (कलकत्ता) प्रभृतीनां संस्थानानां ग्रन्थसंग्रहेषु हस्तलिखितरूपेणोपलभ्यन्ते। तेषु १३९६ शकाब्दे गोवर्धनपाठकेन रचितः 'पुराणसर्वस्वम्' नाम पुराणनिबन्धः, सप्तदश्यां शताब्द्यां रुद्ररायेण रचितः 'पुराणसारः' नाम पुराणनिबन्धश्च बृहत्तरौ प्रसिद्धौ च। 'पुराणसर्वस्व'नाम्नो निबन्धस्य विषयसूची बोडलियन लाइब्रेरीकोशान् आधारीकृत्य आफरैख्टमहोदयेन निर्मिता, पुराणसारस्य च विषयसूची राजेन्द्रलालमहोदयेन प्रस्तुता। उभयोरेव निबन्धयोः भुवनकोश-पुराणनामसंख्या-तीर्थमाहात्म्यप्रभृतयः कतिचिद् विषयाः समाना एव; परन्तु पुराणसारे कनखल-मधुरा-वदरिका-नर्मदा-द्वारका-कुरुक्षेत्र-पुष्कर-नैमिषारण्यप्रभृतीनां तीर्थानां वर्णनमाधिक्येन प्राप्यते, तत्र च पुरुषोत्तमप्रसादमाहात्म्यविषयकोऽध्यायोऽपि पृथक्त्वेन वर्त्तते। एतयोरुभयोरेव पुराणनिबन्धयोः पुराणातिरिक्तेभ्योऽन्येभ्यो वेदस्मृतिमहाभारतादिग्रन्थेभ्योऽपि वचनानि समुद्धृतानि सन्ति। प्रतिपादितविषयाणां बाहुल्याच्च एतौ निबन्धौ विश्वकोशसंज्ञामर्हतः।]

Digests of the vast Purāṇa literature with special reference to the topics dealt with therein are surprisingly rare in comparison with those on Smṛti and Tantra. The few that are known do not appear to have received proper attention at the hands of scholars. At least a stock-taking of the literature is necessary before an assessment of its value and importance may be attempted.

We have references to a number of titles, apparently of works dealing with the Purāṇas, without any details. Thus *Purāṇasāra* is frequently quoted by Mādhava in the *Ācārakhaṇḍa* of the *Parāśarasmṛtivyākhyā*, by Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Ācāramayūkha* and by Śivadāsa in his *Jyotirnibandhasarvasva* (I.O.[1] V.3000). A manuscript with the same title is recorded in the Adyar Library Catalogue. *Purāṇasārasaṃgraha* mentioned by Peterson in his *Report* (II. p. 185) appears to have been preserved in a fragment of 8 folia with 8 lines in a page. Titles like *Purāṇasaṃgraha* (Oppert 2889, 6039), *Purāṇārthasaṃgraha* (BC 218) and *Purāṇapadārthasaṃgraha* (Radh 42) are met with in different lists of manuscripts.

Of works of which some details are known and of which manuscripts have been examined by me, the Asiatic Society possesses a fragmentary manuscript of the *Purāṇasamuccaya* (ASB. V. 4208). It has two sections, one complete and the other incomplete, dealing respectively with *ekādaśīmāhātmya* and *janmāṣṭamīmāhātmya*. It quotes from different Purāṇas as well as a few Smṛti works like the *ācāratilaka* and the *harivāsarapradīpa*. Another work, the *Purāṇasaṃhitā*, a manuscript, a part of which belongs to the Asiatic Society (ASB. V. 4207), seems to be an independent work, which does not, at least in the available portion of the manuscript, refer to Purāṇa. The *Ṭodarānanda* associated with Todarmal though stated to be based on the Vedas, the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas (ASB. V. 4206) scarcely quotes from or refers to any Purāṇa and is in reality a Smṛti digest.

We are fortunate in possessing quite a number of manuscripts and rather detailed descriptions of the contents of two comparatively extensive Purāṇa digests. We know of as many as nine manuscripts of a work or works with the title *Purāṇasarvasva*. There are three manuscripts in the India Office

---

[1] Abbreviations used in the paper are taken from the *Catalogus Catalogorum.*

Library (I.O.VI.3726-8), two in the Bodlean Library (Oxf. 143-44), one in the Calcutta Sanskrit College (C. S. IV. 51), one in the Sanskṛit Sāhitya Parishat of Calcutta and two manuscripts of which one belonged to the Nadia Raj family and may be traced in the Navadvip Edward Library to which the Raj collections are reported to have been made over, noticed by R. L. Mitra (L. I. 333, VI. 2068). All the manuscripts except the one belonging to the Nadia Raj appear to pertain to the same work. The question of authorship of this work presents some difficulty. It is attributed by Aufrecht and Eggeling to Halāyudha. The name is not mentioned in the body of the book but added in a Devanāgarī hand on the margin of two folia of one India office manuscript. Presumably on the basis of this reference and the mention in the concluding verses of Puruṣottama as the father of one Kuladhara who got the work compiled, it was concluded, evidently on insufficient data, that Halāyudha, son of Puruṣottama, was the compiler. Manomohan Chakravarti seems to have accepted Halāyudha as the name of the author but disclaimed his identity with the well-known author of the same name who flourished in the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal (JASB, 1906, p.176.).

The concluding verses, three in number, found at the end of manuscripts at the Bodlean Library, the India office and the Sanskṛit Sāhitya Parishat refer to Kuladhara, son of Puruṣottama, son of one born in a family of merchants in the Varendra-viṣaya in Gauda, well known for its fortune. It was this Kuladhara who in Śaka 1396 got the *Purāṇasarvasva* prepared in 730 charming praśnas with extracts quoted from various Vedas, Purāṇas, the Mahabhārata, the Manusmriti and Śāstra works.[1] More definite, though at first sight rather conflicting, information is available from a manuscript described by Mitra (Notices, VI. 2068). Curiously enough the verses here are different but the name Kuladhara is there and the date is the same though expressed in another way. We are told that the work known all over the country, the immensely beneficial and ornament of the world, prepared at the instance of Satyakhāna who paid respect to the learned men days in and days out through gifts and honours, was completed in the year 1396 Śaka, and it was desired that the work should last as long as there were the sun and the moon. Kuladhara, a virtuous man of the topmost rank, was the recipient of favours from the king of Gauda and subsequently of the title Śubharājakhāna. The *Purāṇasarvasva* pleasing to good people, the main achievement of Satyakhāna, was got prepared with great efforts through Govardhana Pāṭhaka. It seems that this Govardhana, was the actual author who was patronised by Kuladhara Śubharājakhāna *alias* Satyakhāna.[1]

---

[1] गौडे श्रीविदिते वरेन्द्रविषये योऽभूद्वणिग्वंशजः ।
सत्याचारपरोन्नतिर्गजगति [:] सन्नीतिविद्यारतिः ॥
तत्सूनोः पुरुषोत्तमात् सुविनयाधानात् समुत्पन्नवान् ।
विद्वान् दोनदयान्वितः कुलधरो ध्यानैकधर्मव्रतः ॥
नानावेदपुराणभारतमनुस्मृत्यादिशास्त्रोद्धृतैः ।
प्रश्नैः सप्तशतैर्मनोरमतमैस्त्रिशत्परैः कारितम् ॥

A comparison of the manuscripts reveals a number of interesting points. All the manuscripts are defective in the beginning, all lacking the preliminary portions covering the first four or five sections called *adhyāyas*. The Parishat manuscript which appears to be fuller than any other has the fifth chapter

---

यत्नात् तेन पुराणपूर्वकमिदं सर्वस्वमाकल्पकं ।
शाके षण्णववन्दि चन्द्रग[णि]ते प्रीत्यै सदास्तां सताम् ।।
—Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Ms.

[1] एतत्पुस्तं समाप्तं जनपदविदितं कारितं सत्यखानै-
दनैर्मानैर्विधानैरनुदिनमधिकं पण्डितान् पूजयित्वा ।
सर्वस्वान्तं पुराणं परमशुभकरं भूषणं भूतलेऽस्मिन्
आचन्द्रार्कं चकास्ताद्रसनवहुतभुक्चन्द्रसंख्ये शकाब्दे ॥
श्रीमद्गौडमहीमहीपतिपतिप्राप्तप्रसादोदयः
पुण्याः प्राक्तनकर्मणोऽतिपद......श्री सत्यखानाङ्किता ।
पश्चात् श्रीशुभराजखानपदवी लब्धा धरामण्डले
जीयाद्धर्मधुरन्धरः कुलधरो धीरो गभीरो गुणैः ॥
पुराणसर्वस्वमिदं प्रयत्नादकारि गोवर्धनपाठकेन ।
मनोरमं पुण्यवतां जनानां श्रीसत्यखानस्य यशःप्रधानम् ।।

dealing with the Pāṇḍus and a few small sections (on trees, birds, ferocious animals, and seventeen types of paddy) after the last section on *Brahmaṇaḥ Sabhā* recorded in the Oxford Catalogue. The Parishat and the Sanskrit College manuscripts seem to have been copied from the same or similar originals. There are lacuna in both which are referred to the original from which they were copied. The major portion of the *Bhāratasūtra* and the entire *Rāmāyaṇasūtra* are absent in both.[1] A portion of the *rathayātrā* section is also missing in both.

The *Purāṇasāra* composed by Rudra Rāya, son of Rāghava Rāya of the Nadia Raj family about the middle of the 17th century is described by R. L. Mitra (Notices, X. 3310) who refers to two manuscripts one of which belongs to the Asiatic Society (V. 4209). One manuscript (No. 199) of the Navadwip Library is noticed by Kantichandra Radhi in his *Navadvīpamahimā* (p. 283)—a Bengali work giving a historical account of the life and culture of Navadwip. I had occasion to examine a manuscript (No. 379)—evidently a different one—of the same collection in which the first folia was missing. On the cover it is called the second part and it appears to be a copy of another manuscript. One folia containing a portion of the list of contexts of the original appears to have been left inside the copy. It lacks the introductory verses mentioning the name and genealogy of the author. The first verse occurring in the manuscript mentioned by Radhi is absent in the Society's copy described by Mitra.[2] The first few sections are called *sargas* (fol. 5A, 5B, 6B, 7A, 9A—Navadwip manuscript seen by me, and fol. 3B, 4A,

[1] इतः परं भारतसूत्रं रामायणसूत्रं च मूलग्रन्थे न प्राप्तं युष्माभिरन्वेष्टव्यं रामायणे भारते च—Sans. Coll. MS., Fol. 74 B. इतः परं भारतसूत्रं रामायणसूत्रं च नास्ति—Parishat MS., Fol. 40 B.

[2] विश्वस्य जन्मस्थितिसंयमार्थं कृतावतारस्य पदाम्बुजं ते ।
व्रजेम सर्वे शरणं यदीश स्मृतं प्रयच्छत्यभयं सुपुंसाम् ॥
नारायणं भवमहार्णवकर्णधारं कारुण्यपूर्णजलधिकलधौतवर्णं ।
सर्गस्थितिप्रलयमूलममूलमेकं केयूरकौस्तुभभूषणमानतोऽस्मि ॥
श्रीनन्दनन्दनपदद्वितीयारविन्दं वन्दे पुरन्दरपुरःसरवन्द्यवन्द्यम् ।
आनन्दकन्दमतनोदरविन्दजोऽपि यल्लीलया भुवनसृष्टिवितानमेनम् ॥

5A—Society's manuscript) while similar sections are named *adhyāyas* in the *Purāṇasarvasva*. That a good number of manuscripts were made out of the works is sufficient indication of the popularity enjoyed by them.

The works contain a good deal of interesting materials which might be profitably scrutinised. The list of contents of the *Purāṇasarvasva*, based on the Bodlean Library manuscripts which agree with the India office manuscripts, is given in Aufrecht's Catalogue. The contents of the *Purāṇasāra*, which are also very similar in character, are noted by R. L. Mitra. A number of topics are common to both the works : e. g. *bhuvanakośa*, *bhūgola*, *Ratnaparīkṣā*, *aśvacikitsā*, *gajacikitsā*, *yatidharma*, *vānaprastha*, *Purāṇanāmasaṃkhyā*, *tīrthamāhātmya*. It will be noticed that the tīrthas dealt with in the *Purāṇasarvasva* are the few that were described in medieval works of Eastern India pertaining to tīrthas, while the *Purāṇasāra* deals with many more including Kanakhala, Mathurā, Vadarikā, Narmadā, Dvārakā, Ayodhyā, Kurukṣetra, Naimiṣāraṇya, Gaṅgādvāra, and

सदानन्दात्मजचरणलाभात् सुरधुनी धुनीतेऽघं यस्यास्त्रिपुरमथनस्य प्रणयिनी ।
स्वयं वाणी साक्षादनुदिनविनोदी द्विजगणो जयत्येका धन्या त्रिजगति नवद्वीपनगरी ॥
रराज तत्र द्विजराजतेजा द्विजो भवानन्द इति क्षितीन्द्रः ।
ननन्द तन्नन्दन एवमार्यः पूतः प्रजापालनमुख्यकार्यः ॥
तातेतिभक्तो द्विजदेवरक्तो गोपालरामस्तनयस्ततोऽस्य ।
हृष्टप्रशान्ताखिलशिष्टगोप्ता शिवाश्रयो वाङ्निलयो दयालुः ॥
असौ यशोधाम रमाभिरामः श्रीमान् रमन् राघवराय आस्ते ।

अपि च ।

अधोनोता नीतिः श्रितविबुधरीतिः क्षितिपती
(?) षमेणैकक्रीडाभवनभवनीदेवकुलपः ।
सदादानी धूतावनिनिखिलदैन्यो मधुरवाक् ।
गुणग्रामैरन्याद्विवदनधिराम्योतिमहसा ॥
एकत्रोप्तमधर्मशास्त्रसुरकृत् स्तोत्रादिशुश्रूषया ।
संगृह्याखिलशास्त्रसारमीप्सितकरं नानापुराणादिमम् ॥
ग्रन्थं नाम पुराणसारमखिलामोदाय मोक्षप्रदम् ।
श्रीमद्राघवरायसूनुरकरोत् श्रीरुद्रशर्मा चिरात् ॥

—Introductory verses as quoted in the *Navadvīpamahimā*, p. 283, f.n. 5.

Puṣkara. The *Jagannāthamāhātmya* section in the *Purāṇasarvasva* (Fol. 69A-71B of the Sans. Coll. MS) makes no reference to the supreme sanctity attaching to the *prasāda* or food offered to the deity, while the *Purāṇasāra* of a later period does it in an eloquent manner. In fact the latter has a separate section entitled *Puruṣottamaprasādamāhātmya* (Fol. 134, Navadwip MS. No. 379).

The *Purāṇasarvasva* appears to be richer in variety of its contents. It is almost encyclopaedic in character. Besides the common topics mentioned above, reference may be made to the following subjects dealt with in this work : Kāmaśāstra, Vyavahāra, rājanīti, dhanurveda, saṃgrāmalakṣaṇa, vastuprakaraṇa, āyurveda, dravyaguṇa, rāgamālā, vedaśākhā, darśanasiddhāntasaṃkṣepa, Vyākaraṇa, Kāvya, nāṭaka, rasa, alaṁkāra, kāvyaguṇa, kāvyadośa, kośa, chandaḥ, Samasyāpūraṇa etc. etc.

Though avowedly concerned with the Purāṇas, these works freely utilise other branches of literature, especially Smṛti and Veda. Of non-Purāṇic references found in the *Purāṇasarvasva* mention may be made of the following :— Bhīmabhaṭṭa (*randhanakarma* section, Fol. 155B, Sanskrit College Manuscript), Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra (144 A, *op. cit.*), Gobhila (108B, *op. cit.*), Chandogapariśiṣṭe Kātyāyana (106 A, *op. cit.*). Manu and Yājñavalkya (Vyavahāra section, 98B, Parishat MS), Mahābhārata (Rājanīti Section, 101B, *op. cit.*), Nītisāra (*nīti* section, 105 B, *op. cit.*), Kavikalpalatā (*Samasyāpūraṇa* Section, 159 B, *op. cit.*), Smṛtisamuccaya (*dvādaśīkṛtya* Section, 185 A, *op. cit.*).

Howsoever popular some of these works might have been at a particular period or place, none of them appears to have been known when Capt. Wilford had the *Purāṇa Saṃgraha*, a collection of extracts from the *Purāṇas*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, compiled for him in 1801 (I. O. VI. 3735). On scrutiny, however, the work proved to be unreliable (Asiatic Researches, VIII. 249 ff.).

The works so far referred to in the present paper treat of Purāṇas in general ; but there are a number of works with little outstanding merits dealing with particular works especially the

Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the *Mahābhārata* and giving their summaries or noting their list of contents. We know of several works with the title *Bhāgavata-kathāsaṃgraha*. The work in the library of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat which is anonymous gives the summaries of the twelve Books in twelve separate sections. The India Office work also called *Haribhaktitaraṅgiṇī* is an epitome of the *Bhāgavata* with quotations from the original. The name of the author is Keśava Śarman or Keśava Pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya. A manuscript of one more anonymous work is described in I.O.VI. 3518. The Vangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta has mss. of four works, the *Bhāgavatāmṛta*. *Bhāgavatāmṛtakaṇikā*, *Bhāgavatasaṃhitākathā* (which notes the list of contents of the Bhāgavata) and the *Mahābhāratakathāsaṃgraha*. The India Office Library has manuscripts of several sections of a work, the *Mahābhāratakathākaumudī* by Caturbhuja Miśra Aupamanyava which gives an abstract of the *Mahābhārata* (I. O. VI. 3300-3302). 'The whole work', in the opinion of Eggeling, 'is not worth the paper it is written on'.

PRAJAPATI AND HIS DAUGHTER

By

SADASHIV A. DANGE

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे प्रजापतेरङ्गजागमनरूपकथाया मूलान्वेषणम्, आदिम-मानवसमाजव्यवस्था-दृष्ट्या तस्या व्याख्यानं च कृतम् । सकामः प्रजापतिर्ब्रह्मा स्वसुतां सावित्रीं चकमे--इति कथा ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु पुराणेषु च प्राप्यते । अस्याः कथाया मूलम् ऋग्वेदे "पिता यत् स्वां दुहितरमधिष्कन्" (१०-६१ ७) इत्यादिवचनेषु वर्तते । यद्यपि 'द्यौः पिता स्वसुतायां पृथिव्यां मेघरूपं रेतः सिञ्चति' इत्यादिरूपेण ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु तथा "वेदराशिः स्मृतो ब्रह्मा सावित्री तदधिष्ठिता । तस्मान्न कश्चिद्दोषः स्यात् सावित्रीगमने विभोः ॥" (मत्स्यपु०, ४-१०) इत्यादिरूपेण पुराणेषु चास्याः कथाया रूपकात्मिका व्याख्याऽपि दृश्यते, तथाऽप्यनया कथया पितुः स्वकन्योपगमनरूपवार्त्ता त्वभ्युपगम्यत एव । तेनेदं प्रतीयते यद् अतिप्राचीनकाले आदिममानवसमाजे पितुः स्वसुतागमनं समाजविरुद्धमनैतिकं वा नामन्यत । तदानीं पितृसम्बन्धविहीना मातृप्रधाना च समाजव्यवस्थासीदित्यनया कथया द्योत्यते । पुनश्च, यदा मानवसभ्यता विकाससमभजत् कुटुम्बव्यवस्था च पितृप्रधानाऽजायत, तदा पितुः स्वसुतोपगमनवार्ता मनुष्येषु गर्हिता बभूव । अतः परम्परागता सा वार्त्ता तदानीम् अतिमानुषी प्रजापतिसम्बद्धा च कारिता पुराणकथारूपेण लोके च प्रचलिता । पुनश्च ब्राह्मणादिग्रन्थेषु तस्याः कथाया रूपकत्वमपि कल्पितमिति लेखकस्य मतम् ।]

The obnoxious account of Prajāpati's desire for his own daughter and the ultimate incest with the punishment awarded to Prajāpati is well rooted in the Vedic and Purāṇic texts. In the Mait. Saṃ.[1] along with the account of the incest we find a sort of an interpretation shifting the whole tale to the realm of Nature. The daughter is said to be Uṣas. She assumes the form of the female deer and Prajāpati that of a stag. Rudra, getting enraged, is said to have shot an arrow at him whereupon the latter promised to make him the lord of the beasts. In the

---

[1] Mait. Saṁ. (Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā)--IV-2-12.

Śat. Br.[2] also we have the account. Here Rudra shoots Prajāpati for this misdeed of his, and it goes deep in his body causing his death. Then we have an account of how the gods cured Prajāpati and kept well the torn part of his body ; for Prajāpati was no less than the sacrifice itself. Out of Prajāpati's body Āditya, Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras etc. were created. The Ait. Br.[3] has the tale and from it we learn that his daughter, the Dawn or the Sky who transformed herself into a female deer, was the constellation Rohiṇī. Thus the myth gets connected with the Sky. The point of creation of various things from Prajāpati's body is the same as in the Ś. Br.

Macdonell gives two references from the Ṛg.V. as a possible origin of this myth,[4] where we have the account of a father having evil designs for his own daughter. He interprets the father as Dyaus and his daughter as the Earth.

It could, thus, be seen that various interpretations for Prajāpati and his daughter were given—

(i) Prajāpati = the sky who sprinkles semen (rain) into his daughter, the Earth.

(ii) Prajāpati = the stag and the sacrifice ; His daughter the female deer.

(iii) The daughter = Rohiṇī the constellation.

(iv) The daughter = the dawn, or the sky.

One thing is pretty obvious. Prajāpati and his daughter are both transformed and, in the actual act of incest, are spoken of as having shed off their human form. This underlined idea sounds a note of disdain for such acts in the precincts of the human society at that time when this myth was forged out ; and hence Prajāpati's carnal desire for his own daughter was, probably, not shown to be pursued in the human form. Not being satisfied with this change of environment, the Vedic myth-makers brought Rudra to inflict a fatal blow to Prajāpati.

---

[2] Ś. Br. (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa)—I-7-4. (Mādhyandin) = II-7-2 (Kaṇva)

[3] Ait. Br. (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa)—III-33. See also Pañcaviṁśa Br.—VIII-2-10.

[4] Cf. Vedic Mythology under 'Prajāpati'. Also Ṛg. V. I-71-5 ; X-61-5-7.

We now turn to the Purāṇic literature. According to the Matsya P.[5] Prajāpati (Brahmā) created the various species of creatures, and the various sages. Then he produced a beautiful daughter. Seeing her lovely form the lord of creation felt drawn towards her and began praising her. Vasiṣṭha and other sages saw this flush of vile emotion in their generator and got abashed thinking about the lot of their sister. But Brahmā saw nothing due to the force of 'Kāma'. Due to this desire of his for copulation with his daughter[6] he lost all his virtue required for the creation of the universe.

After giving this traditional account, the author of the Purāṇa explains it away saying, that the deeds and misdeeds of the gods do not bear good or bad fruit, thus suggesting that the deeds of the gods are not to be examined according to the human standards of morality, nor do they bear any fruit whatsoever as do the deeds of the mortals.[7]

We further learn from the Purāṇa that Brahmā blamed the god of love for not sparing even him from his shafts, and cursed him to be burnt to ashes due to the wrath of Rudra. Here again there is an effort to interpret the old myth, and Prajāpati's daughter is said to be nothing else than Gāyatrī or Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech. Naturally these two viz. Brahmā (= The lord of Knowledge) and Sarasvatī-Gāyatrī (the speech) would have a very very intimate relationship. The same note of transcending the precincts of human society and its relationships is to be found here. Prajāpati and the goddess of speech are superhuman. We do not have Brahmā's head cut off by Rudra here.

---

5. Cf. Matsya Purāṇa-Sṛṣṭi Prakaraṇa-Adhyāya-3-31 ff.

6. The exact word is '*Svasulopagamecchayā*'. (Ibid-40).

7. Cf. Ibid. Adhyāya-4-6. 'Kāryākārye na devānāṁ śubhāśubha-phala-prade'.

In the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa[8], we have the head of Brahmā being cut off by Rudra. But, the account of incest is dropped in that context. We have, instead, only an argument as regards superiority between Brahmā and Śiva, whereupon the latter cuts the head of the former.

In the Padma Purāṇa[9], the reason for Śiva cutting one of the heads of Brahmā is that because of that particular head (the fifth one) Brahmā was full of 'rajas.'[10] The gods became pale and powerless. Hence they approached Śiva who cut the head.

In the Skanda Purāṇa we have the same Vedic account, but Prajāpati here is called Brahmā and his daughter, Sarasvatī. Rudra has the name Śiva here. The tale comes in the context of the praise of the Gāyatrī Tīrtha.[11] Prajāpati's daughter is said to get transformed into the constellation Rohiṇī as in the Ait. Br.

With negligible variations the same account appears in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. There we have the 'speech' as the daughter of Brahmā. Brahmā becomes infatuated on seeing his own daughter ; and his sons, the Prajāpatis Marīci etc., ward him from the sinful act saying that no previous ones did what he was doing, and that the copulation with one's own daughter was a great sin. Being thus addressed to by the sons, Brahmā feels extreme mortification and on the spot abandons his body.[12]

This account does away with the killing of Prajāpati (= Brahmā) by Śiva (= Rudra). The account is modified here and Brahmā is himself said to have forsaken his body.[13]

---

[8] Bhavisya P.--I.

[9] Padma P. V. 14-90 ff.

[10] 'Rajasā copabṛṁhitaḥ'-(V. 14-92) and 'rajo-haṅkāra-mūḍhadīḥ' (V. 14-108). We can well understand how the antagonism between Rudra and Prajāpati or Brahmā could in the Purāṇas give rise to the fight between Dakṣa-Prajāpati and S'iva.

[11] Cf. Skanda P.-III (Brahmakhaṇḍa)-Adhyāya-40.

[12] Bhāg. P.--III. 12-28 ff.

[13] The account further goes on to say that the body was taken over by the Directions. Earlier we have the account, how the various gods and Prajāpati were produced from Brahmā's various limbs.

The Purāṇas are, thus, found to be maintaining that Prajāpati was Brahmā and his daughter was the speech ; but the prick about the desire of Prajāpati (=Brahmā) for his own daughter remains the same, though covered by such statements as—'it is all different with the gods ; human traditions do not bind the gods with the human conceptions of sin !'

After studying all the accounts where the myth of Prajāpati and his daughter accure, one point stands before us prominently. In the Vedic and the later literature obviously an effort to explain away a myth is going on. Stripping the myth of its explanations and interpretations, one thing is quite clear : That the myth is far ancient ; and that even in the Vedic times it was felt necessary to explain it away. Even if the myth is said to embody some natural phenomenon, or if said to be the symbolic representation of the relationship between 'Knowledge' and 'speech,' one wonders why, at all, such a symbol that is based on such human relationship as is repulsive to man should have found its way in the sacred books.

The argument of the lost meaning of the words would not be plausible in the face of the fact that the account speaks of the obnoxious element in the Purāṇas as in the Vedic texts. And this would mean that this account hints at a point which was a reality sometime far back, and had become a part of the traditional belief of the Aryan people. Being a traditional belief it was not easily possible to discard it away and hence was retained as an exploit of Prajāpati (and later as of Brahmā) with a hint at its repulsiveness in the punishment of Prajāpati. Many such tales could be found which, though repulsive to the sense of decency of the present man, may well fit in the social structure of the primitive society. The father's sexual relations with the daughter could be explained on the basis of this primitive structure.

The point is—in what relations did the children stand to the father ? Evidence prove that at a certain stage in human society, the children were supposed to be related to the mother only. The father could never be a relative of his children.

This could well stand as an explanation of how the father—being never related to the children as he is now—could have sexual relation with the daughter.[14] We learn further that according to the peculiar law of the primitive Australians, the father could never be a relative of his children.[15] Among many primitive peoples kinship with mother is recognised while kinship with the father is completely neglected.[16] Among the primitive Semang people of the Malay peninsula no kinship whatsoever exists. The name of every child is taken from some tree near the prospective birth-place of the child. As soon as a child is born, this name is shouted aloud and the 'after-birth' of the child is buried under that particular tree.[17] Among the primitive totemistic Aruntas of central Australia there is a belief that there are heaps of 'Churinga's (oval plates of stone with certain decoration, with which are associated spirits of dead men who want to be re-born.) When a woman feels the mysterious movement of 'something' in her stomach and knows of a child-birth, she associates it with the heap of 'Churinga's she chanced to pass by. Expectant women, in fact, pass by such stones. Those who do not want to have a child keep away from such 'Churinga's. A child's totem is derived *not* from the father or the mother, but from the totem of the ghosts at the place where the *woman thinks* she conceived it.[18] This indicates the position of the father as regards the children. He is no kin of the children in such primitive societies in the far early periods of human relationship. Moreover, in the period of the dawn of '*kinship*', the mother would be the kin of the child, the father for all practical purposes, being a non-kin. And his sexual relationship with the daughter would, hence, *not be* looked upon as unnatural or illegal or immoral. When such element comes in tales, therefore, it remains as a '*survival*' of the remote past ; and, not being discarded by tradition in all these years, it pricks the sense of morality in the relatively advanced stage of social structure. At this stage it becomes difficult to discard it away ; for, a sort of sanctity gets attached to such beliefs and to discard them amounts to sacrilege. Hence start the interpretations and explanations.

---

[14] Cf. 'Folk-lore as an Historical Science' by G. L. Gomme (London-1908) P. 59.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid. P. 231.

[17] Ibid. P. 244.

[18] Cf. Andrew Lang--'Magic and Religion' (London-1901) P. 251 ff.

What we have said above will be clear from another tale, a nursery tale from the European continent. According to it a certain king, having lost his wife and mourned for her, suddenly decides to marry his own daughter. The princess does not like this and puts lots of difficulties in his way. She asks him to prepare robes of the colour of the moon and the stars. This the king does. Then she asks for something more valuable. That also the king gets done. Ultimately, she asks for an ass-skin. After getting it, she besmears her head with soot, wears the ass-skin and gets away from the palace.[19]

The similarity between this tale and that of Prajāpati and his daughter is obvious. The daughter here is reluctant. So is Prajāpati's daughter as could be seen from the fact that she runs away from him and he has to pursue her. She is said to be 'desire-less' as against Prajāpati who was 'full of desire'.[20] It seems that the daughter could repulse the 'father's'[21] approaches if she so desired ; but it was not illegal or immoral for the 'father' to approach the daughter with this design in mind.

The tale of Prajāpati and his daughter, thus seems to embody two stages of social structure :—

(i) The most primitive stage with kin-less social relationship; or at the least, when the 'father' was not supposed to be the 'kin' of the children.

(ii) More advanced stage of society with the memory of the above custom continued in sacred tradition.

---

[19] 'Folk-lore as an Historical science'—P. 59.

[20] Cf. Bhāg. P. III-12-28.—'*akāmām* cakame Kṣattaḥ *Sakāma* iti naḥ Śrutam'.

[21] It is not proper to use the term 'Father' ; for this term might not have been used with the same connotation at that time.

The first stage shows the Maternal or even pre-maternal stage of society and the second the paternal stage when 'father' came to be the rightful kin of the children.

It is not quite possible to say whether this myth originated among the far ancient Aryans or they borrowed it from the Non-aryans after a possible fusion of social structures. Yet it is pertinent to note that no less a god than Prajāpati is involved in the myth. It may be recalled, however, that in the Ṛgveda (X-61-5, and 7) which is the probable origin of this myth[22], we do not have *Prajāpati and the Uṣas.* We merely have a 'father' and a 'daughter'.[23] This, it is probable, was the original phase and later, 'Prajāpati' came in the place of the 'father' and in the place of his daughter came 'Vāk' or 'Uṣas' or 'the sky'. This also suggests a stage ahead of the original social conditions and makes way for the explanation found in the Matsya P. (which we have noted) that this sort of a sexual relationship could be good only for the gods and not for men.

---

[22] Cf. Vedic Mythology-under 'Prajâpati'. Macdonell follows Sāyaṇa in this respect.

[23] Cf. Ṛg. V. X-61-5–mark the words-'Yasya' and 'Kanāyā duhituh' and 7-'pitā yat svām *duhitaram* adhiṣkan kṣmayā retaḥ saṁjagmāno niṣiñcan',

THE PURĀṆĀRTHASAṄGRAHA OF VEṄKAṬARĀYA

By

V. RAGHAVAN

[वेंकटरायसूरिकृतो लक्ष्मीनारायणमित्यपरनामधेयः पुराणार्थसंग्रहो नाम पुराणनिबन्धः पुराणोपपुराणेतिहासधर्मशास्त्रदर्शनादिषु वर्णितानामनेकविद्यानां शास्त्राणां च संग्रहोऽस्ति । अस्य ग्रन्थस्य कतिपये हस्तलेखाः मद्रासशासनीयप्राच्यहस्तलेखपुस्तकालये, इंडिया-आफिस-पुस्तकालये, अद्यारपुस्तकालये, मैसूरप्राच्यसंस्थानपुस्तकालये च विद्यन्ते । अस्मिन् लेखे मद्रासप्राचयहस्तलेखपुस्तकालयकोशम् अद्यारपुस्तकालयकोशं चाधारीकृत्य पुराणार्थसंग्रहस्य विवरणं प्रस्तूयते । अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे त्रिशद् अध्यायाः, चत्वारि सहस्राणि च श्लोकाः सन्ति । प्रथमेऽध्याये सर्वेषामध्यायानां विषया निर्दिष्टाः, तत्र वर्णितानां विद्यास्थानानां शास्त्राणां च सूची च प्रस्तुता । चत्वारो वेदाः, उपनिषदः, षट् शास्त्राणि, उपशास्त्राणि च षट्, भाष्यसूत्रात्मकं व्याकरणम्, अष्टादश पुराणानि, उपपुराणानि चाष्टादश, इतिहासः, सप्त कल्पाः, दश पुरावृत्ताः, शिवधर्मशास्त्रं, विष्णुधर्मशास्त्रं, स्मृतयोऽष्टादश, उपस्मृतयोप्यष्टादश, एकविंशतिरन्ये स्मृतिकाराः, चतुर्षु विभागेषु विभक्ताः शैवागमाः, वैष्णवागमाश्च चत्वारः, वैष्णवागमान्तर्भूतस्य संहिताशास्त्रस्य कर्तारश्च शतमृषयः—एतत्सर्वं वाङ्मयं पुराणार्थसंग्रहे निर्दिष्टम् । एतस्य महतो वाङ्मयस्य सारश्चास्मिन् ग्रन्थे संगृहीतः, वचनानि चोद्धृतानि । अस्य ग्रन्थस्य कर्त्ता वेंकटरायसूरिर्दाक्षिणात्यः आसीदित्यस्माद् ग्रन्थात् प्रतीयते ।]

The Purāṇārthasaṅgraha is a digest of knowledge of all branches of learning such as are comprehended in the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, the Itihāsas, the Dharmaśāstras and the Darśanas. Two manuscripts of it are described in the Descriptive Catalogues of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (D. Nos. 2469 and 15622) and one in Keith's Catalogue of the India Office Library (No. 6948). The India Office manuscript too, in palm leaf and Grantha script, comes from South India, belonging as it does to the Burnell collection.

The work is itself written in purāṇic style as a conversation between Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa, and hence the work is subtitled *Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇam* (*-yaṇīyam*), as the concluding verse says :

आलोच्य शास्त्रमखिलं स चकार लक्ष्मीनारायणाख्यमिह वेङ्कटरायसूरिः ।

There is a fourth manuscript of it in the Adyar Library[1] (I. p. 1596) where it is noted *Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇīya*, and four more manuscripts of it are preserved in the Oriental Institute Library, Mysore, whose catalogue (I. p. 167) notes it there as *Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇasamvāda.* There is a manuscript of it preserved also in the S. V. O. Institute, Tirupati.

Lākṣmī and Nārāyaṇa are the primary interlocutors but the immediate interlocutors are Ṛṣabha Yogin and Skanda. In the beginning we find :

ऋषभयोगी—

देवसेनापते स्कन्द षडानन शिवार्भक ।
श्रीमन्नारायणो लक्ष्म्यै सर्वधर्मानुदैरयत ॥
प्रीत्या कथं, तदुक्तांस्तान् वक्तुमर्हसि मे प्रभो ।

स्कन्दः—

ऋषभाहं प्रतुष्टोऽस्मि × × × ।
× × × × ब्रवीमि ते ॥

At the end we read—

इत्येवमुक्त्वा (क्तो ?) ऋषभो महात्मा
स्कन्दं समामन्त्र्य गुरुं प्रसन्नम् ।
ययौ मुनीनां निकरं पुराणं
प्रवक्तुकामः परिपूर्णकामः ॥

The authorship of the work is clearly stated in the colophon and the concluding verse. In the latter, the author,

---

[1] The Adyar ms. is a paper Grantha transcript from an original ms. from Velliambakram village, Chingleput District.

Veṅkaṭarāya, describes himself as son of Vaḍamala and Alamelumaṅgā and as belonging to the Garga Gotra.

> प्रासूत यं वडमलाख्यबुधोऽलमेलु-
> मङ्गा च गर्गकुलकल्पतरुप्रबन्धम् ।
> आलोच्य शास्त्रमखिलं स चकार लक्ष्मी-
> नारायणाख्यमिह वेङ्कटरायसूरिः ॥

The author appears to be a late South Indian, possibly of the region round about Madras, Kāñcī and Tirupati, but there are no other data available to clinch his identity and date more precisely. That he might have belonged to the area in South India mentioned above is borne out from his mentioning in the section on shrines those in Kāñcī in great detail. The South Indian nativity of the author shown by his name and those of his parents, is seen very patently when we note that his account of Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite holy places is full of references to South Indian shrines, even the lesser ones, and that his account of music is mostly Karnatic. He seems to be Smārta of Advaitic persuasion, but with an inclination towards Śiva as his Iṣṭadevatā.

The account of the work in the sequel is based on the examination of two manuscripts, one in the Madras Government Oriental manuscripts Library and another in the Adyar Library. The work is in thirty chapters and in extent is about 4000 granthas (See Madras, D. No. 2469, end).

The opening chapter sets forth the subject matter of the thirty chapters and gives also a list of the Vidyā-Sthānas and Śāstras, knowledge pertaining to which is summarised in this compendium. Some items of information found here are interesting.

After mentioning the four Vedas and the Upaniṣads, the six systems or Śāstras are referred to. It is said here that out of the six primary Śāstras, six other Śāstras flowed out. The first six Śāstras are given as Tarka, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta, Yoga and Sāṁkhya, and from these arose respectively

Nītiśāstra, Pramāṇaśāstra (i.e. Nyāya), Dharmaśāstra, Adhyātmaśāstras of several kinds, Tattvaśāstra (which gives Ātmajñāna), and Mokṣaśāstra (which puts an end to all misery).

आद्यं शास्त्रेषु तर्काख्यं वैशेषिकमतः परम् ।
मीमांसाशास्त्रमपरं तुर्यं वेदान्तनामकम् ॥
पञ्चमं योगशास्त्रं तु षष्ठं सांख्याह्वयं तथा ।
× × ×
एतेभ्य उपशास्त्राणि जज्ञिरे षडनुक्रमात् ।
तर्कशास्त्रान्नीतिशास्त्रं नानार्थपरिबृंहितम् ॥
वैशेषिकात्प्रमाणाख्यं शास्त्रमुक्तिविगूहितम् ।
मीमांसाशास्त्रतो धर्मशास्त्रं कर्मक्रियात्मनः ॥
अध्यात्मशास्त्रं वेदान्तशास्त्राच्छोकैकभेषजम् ।
योगशास्त्रात्तत्त्वशास्त्रमात्मज्ञानप्रदर्शकम् ॥
सांख्यशास्त्रान्मोक्षशास्त्रं सर्वदुःखहरं नृणाम् ।
× × ×
एषां शास्त्रोपशास्त्राणामङ्गशास्त्रमनुत्तमम् ।
शब्दशास्त्रं महद्, भाष्यं सूत्रव्याकरणान्वितम् ॥

Nīti is probably related here to Tarka, as polity is based on logistics; Pramāṇa or Nyāya has always gone with Vaiśeṣika as its Samāna-tantra; Dharma is related to Mīmāṁsā as the former leans very much on the latter for interpretation; but how Adhyātma Śāstra, Tattva Śāstra and Mokṣa Śāstra, which are severally linked by the author to Vedānta, Yoga and Sāṁkhya, are different from each other cannot be explained.

In Vyākaraṇa, which is then given, the Sūtras and the Mahābhāṣya are mentioned.

18 Purāṇas and 18 Upapurāṇas are then set forth and their consolidated extent is given as 4 lakhs granthas.

Under Itihāsa, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, the Itihāsottama and the Śeṣadharma are mentioned; the last is printed in Grantha script in Madras.

काव्यं रामायणं प्रोक्तमितिहासं च भारतम् ।
इतिहासोत्तमं[1] तद्वदितिहाससमुच्चयम्[2] ॥
हरिवंशस्तु कथितः सर्वार्थपरिबृंहितः ।
शेषधर्माह्वयस्त्वन्यः कथितो लोकपावनः ॥

7 Kalpas, books of that name covering an extent of 7 thousand granthas each, are there noted: *Vaidyādhara; Jñāna-vāsiṣṭha* which is of course well known, *Apsarasa, Yāyāta* (Yayāti and his story are wellknown), *Mohana, Dharmādharma* and *Yonikalpa*.

10 other texts narrating old story are then given under the heading *Purāvṛtta*: stories of Hariścandra, Sāvitrī, Pṛthu, Nala, Saudāsa, Kuśalava, Māndhātā, Rukmāṅgada, Duṣyanta, and Dhundhumāra. Most of these are inbedded in the Great Epic. The separate enumeration of these in two such classes *kalpa* and *Purāvṛtta* is rare. Kalpa is obviously to be related to Purā-kalpa which means story of old.

कल्पास्तु सप्त विज्ञेयाः पृथक् सप्तसहस्रकाः ।
वैद्याधरस्तु प्रथमः नानाचित्रकथाश्रयः ॥
द्वितीयो ज्ञानवासिष्ठस्तृतीयोऽप्सरसाह्वयः ।
यायातस्तु चतुर्थस्स्यात् पञ्चमो मोहनाह्वयः ॥
धर्माधर्माह्वयः षष्ठः योनिकल्पस्तु सप्तमः ।

× × ×

दश चैव पुरावृत्ताः सन्ति ज्ञानोपपादकाः ।
तेष्वादिमो हरिश्चन्द्रमाहात्म्यकथनक्रमः ॥
सावित्र्युपाख्यानमपि पृथुभूपचरित्रकम् ।
चतुर्थस्तु नलोदन्तः सौदासोदन्त एव च ॥

---

[1] For an account of this work, see my analysis in *ABORI*, XVIII, ii, 1937, pp. 201-204.

[2] Mss. of this are found in several Libraries, Madras, Adyar, Mysore, Tanjore, India Office etc.

षष्ठः कुशलवोदन्तः मान्धातुश्च चरित्रकम् ।
ततो रुक्माङ्गदोदन्तः दुष्यन्तोदन्त एव च ॥
धुन्धुमारस्य माहात्म्यं पुरावृत्ता दशोदिताः ।

Two Śāstras called Śivadharma and Viṣṇudharma which are otherwise also known, are then mentioned.

शिवधर्माह्वयं शास्त्रं विष्णुधर्माह्वयं तथा ।

The Itihāsas and their supplements and the Kalpas, the Purāvṛttas and the two last mentioned Dharmas comprise in all another 4 lakhs of granthas :

तथा चतुर्लक्षमानाः एषां (ते) ग्रंथ (थाः) प्रमाणकाः (णतः) ।
पुराणभिन्नान्येतानि कीर्तितानि महर्षिभिः ॥

Then the 18 Smṛti-kāras are enumerated : Viṣṇu, Parāśara, Dakṣa, Saṁvarta, Manu, Hārīta, Śātātapa, Vasiṣṭha, Yama, Āpastamba, Gautama, Devala, Śaṅkha, Bharadvāja, Uśanas, Atri, Śaunaka and Yājñavalkya.

... ... अष्टादश मुनीश्वराः ।
एतैः प्रवर्तिता लोके स्मृतयोऽष्टादशोत्तमाः ॥
उपस्मृतिप्रवक्तारः ऋषयोऽष्टादश स्मृताः ।

Then follows a list of 18 other sages who were authors of 18 Upasmṛtis :—

Jābāli, Naciketas, Skanda, Lokākṣi, Kaśyapa, Sanatkumāra, Likhita, Śāntanu, Janaka, Vyāghra, Kātyāyana, Babhru, Jātūkarṇi, Kapiñjala, Baudhāyana, Kaṇāda, Viśvāmitra, Sumantu.

A further list of 21 Smṛti-kāras is then given.

× × × ततोऽपि स्मृतिकारिणः ।
× × × × × ×
× × × × एकविंशतिरीरिताः ॥

Vasiṣṭha, Nārada, Sumantu, Pitāmaha, Paiṭhīnasi, Gobhila, Gārgya, Kārṣṇyājani, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Ātreya, Chāgaleya, Marīci, Vatsa, Pāraskara, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Vedavāpi (Baijavāpa ?) and Satyavrata.

If we check up the above fiftyseven authors of Smṛtis with the names of Smṛti-texts available in print or manuscripts or of Smṛti-authorities quoted in Nibandhas, we find that while the Purāṇārthasaṅgraha repeats some names under the three lists,–Vasiṣṭha, Sumantu, Bharadvāja–, it does not mention some well-known authors, Aṅgiras, Āśvalāyana, Bṛhaspati, Vyāsa, but gives some names not known otherwise as Smṛtikāras, although ritual works, Gṛhya or Kalpa, are associated with one or two of them—*Naciketas, Skanda, Śāntanu, Janaka, Kapiñjala, Kaṇāda, Pāraskara,* and *Vedavāpī* ; the last is obscure and may be a mistake for Baijavāpa(i).

Then, on Kāvya, Daṇḍin's definition is reproduced. Veda is mentioned as comprising Vidhi, Mantra, and Arthavāda. Sūtra, Bhāṣya and Vārttika are given as the three types of Śāstra works. Commentary or Vyākhyāna is defined as taking the form of Padaccheda, Padārthokti, Vigraha, Vākyayojana, Ākṣepa, and Samādhāna.

The work then enumerates lists of Āgamas and Tantras. First Śiva–āgamas are taken and of those, Āgamas classified as Vaidika-tantras are first enumerated ; these number 31.

The Avaidika Śaiva tantras are 33 and their list follows. 16 Upatantras are then given.

Apart from all these are the great Āgamas (Mahāgamas),– 28 in number, Kāmika, Kāraṇa etc., which appeared from the five faces of Śiva ; of these 28, *twenty* are said to be more important. Upāgamas arose from the Mahāgamas and their total number is 196 ; the last are not enumerated.

१. आगमानां प्रभेदाश्च कथ्यन्ते शिवसंमताः ।
आदौ वैदिकतन्त्राणामनुक्रमणिकोच्यते ॥
× × × ×
× × एकत्रिंशदिमानि हि ।
२. अवैदिकाचारवतां तन्त्राणां क्रम उच्यते ।
× × × ×

त्रयस्त्रिंशत्प्रभेदानि ह्यवैदिकवतां नृणाम् ॥
३. एवमेवोपतन्त्राणि षोडशात्र चलन्ति हि ।
४. पञ्चवक्त्रस्य वक्त्रेभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः परिजज्ञिरे ।
अष्टविंशतिसंख्याकाः कामिकाद्या महागमाः ॥

× × × ×

एतेषां विंशतिः शैवागमाः प्राधान्यतः स्मृताः ॥
५. एतेभ्यश्च समुत्पन्नाः पृथक्पृथगुपागमाः ।
षण्णवत्युत्तरशतसंख्याकाः परिजज्ञिरे ॥

There are several lists of the main and subsidiary Āgamas and Tantras, Śaivaite and Śākta, given in various works, but these lists do not agree either in the classifications or the names and number of texts in each class. Our work gives the following in four classes, as mentioned above :

31 Vaidika Tantras—

Sarvajñānottara
Āruṇeśvara
Mahādeva
Kālavāda
Dakṣiṇāmnāya
Anuttarāmnāya
Vīṇātantra
Kulāsāra
(Kulasāra)
Vātūlottara
Trotalottara

Candrajñāna
Viśuddheśvara
Nyāyottara
Yogeśvara
Paścimāmnāya
Ūrdhvāmnāya
Guhya
Hṛdbheda-mātṛbheda (?)
Sarvātīta
Bahurūpāṣṭaka
(taken as one)

Jñānārṇava
Traipura
Kalāsāra
Pūrvāmnāya
Uttarāmnāya
Kuṇḍīśvaramata
Kulacūḍāmaṇi
Vātula
Trotala
Yāmalāṣṭaka
(taken as one)
Kiraṇa

33 Avaidika Tantras—

Mahāmāyaśambara
Tattvaśambara
Rūpikāmata
Pariśiṣṭānanda

Yoginīśambara
Kulārṇava
Virūpikāmata
Amareśvara

Bālaśambara
(Jāla° ?)
Mahāsammohana
Nityāṣoḍaśikā
Vāmjuṣṭakuloddiṣṭa (?)

पुस्तकालय गुरुकुल काँगड़ी

Rūpabheda
Kalyāṇa
Rājita
Vāsuki
Mahālakṣmīmata
Vimala
Lalitāmata

Kāmika
Bhūta
Gāruḍa
Mahākālīmata
Mahāmāyā
Vīravatīmata
Mahākuleśvarī

Pañcāmṛta
Bhairavāṣṭaka (taken as one)
Bālātantra
Mahāvīravatīmata
Mantrottara
Lalitājñāna
Cūḍāmaṇī

16 Upatantras—

Mantrārṇava
Śāmbhava
Oḍḍāmareśvara
Mṛgamukhī
Kālacaṇḍeśvara
Kautuka

Mantrasāra
Śaṭkālāgama
Rājatantra
Caṇḍa-Rudreśvara
Haramekhalaka

Mahākaula
Mūlaśākta
Lākuleśvara
Saubhāgyavallarī
Śaiva

28 Mahāgamas—

Kāmika
Cintya
Vīra
Anala [5 from Aghora-face]
Candrajñāna
Prodgīta
Śarvokta
Pārameśvara
Sūkṣma
Suprabhedaka [5 from Vāmadeva]

Kāraṇa
Yogaja [5 from Sadyojāta face of Śiva]
Niḥśvāsaka
Raurava
Bimba
Siddha
Santāna
Vātula [8 from Īśāna]
Sahasra

Ajita
Jaya
Svayambhū
Mukuṭa
Vimala [5 from Tatpuruṣa]
Lalita
Kiraṇa
Dīpta
Aṁśumān

It is interesting to note that Vaiṣṇava Āgamas are said to be basically divided, not into the two well-known classes only of Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra, but into four, the additional two being two titles which are not class-names but names of specific works : *Pratiṣṭhāsāra* and *Vijñāna-lalita.*

वैखानसं पाञ्चरात्रं प्रतिष्ठासारमेव च ।
विज्ञानललितं चेति चत्वारो वैष्णवागमाः ॥

But later, in the actual place where worship is described (Ch. 18), the text mentions only the Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra, alongside of Śaiva, as the basis of temple worship :

वैष्णवं पाञ्चरात्रं च शैवमित्यागम त्रयम् ।
तैरालये पूजनीयं गृहे वैदिकमन्त्रतः ॥

A 100 sages are then mentioned as having composed Saṁhitās and Śāstras coming under this class of Vaiṣṇava Āgamas.

संहिताशास्त्रकर्तारः शतं वै ऋषयः स्मृताः ।

Hayagrīva, *Garbha* (*Garga ?*), Śaunaka, Manu, Bodhāyana, *Sumantu*, Yājñavalkya, *Vātula*, Vyāsa, Bṛhaspati, Yama, Gautama, *Prājāpatya*, Maudgalya, Vasiṣṭha, Bhārgava, Śātātapa, Vāmadeva, Vṛddhaśātātapa, Jamadagni, Jaimini, *Jātukarṇi*, Jābali, *Pailanitya or Jaimanitya* (?), *Jñānam*, *Nirjahnu* (?), *Jyotiṣmān*, *Jīvala*, *Vītihotra*, Parāśara, Śālihotra, Suhotra, [*Vītihotra*], *Daśahotra*, *Yajñahotra*, *Śatahotra*, *Nityahotra*, *Prāṇahotra*, *Sahasrahotra*, Arti, Agastya, *Āsuri*, Viśvāmitra,......*Piṅgala*, *Pragātha*, *Cūlisṛgava*, *Suyajña*, *Mataṅga*, [Yama], *Rājala*, *Bṛndāvana*, *Ulūka*, Mātsyāyana, *Mṛgandhuka*, Ucathya, Pippalāda, *Cyavana*, *Sūta*, Kapila, *Naidhruva*, Kāśyapa, *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga*, *Sunaśśepha*, *Dīrghatama*, *Kauṇḍinya*, *Methātithi*, *Golākṣi*, *Śuddha*, Kālapradīpaka, Viṣṇu, *Vīra*, *Vatsa*, *Vārdhraśva*, *Samṣkṛti*, *Bṛhadukthya*, Kavi, Hārīta, *Kutsa*, *Nijandhu* (?), *Babhru*, *Kakṣīvān*, *Atithi*, *Bāṣkala* or *Bhāskara*, *Phaṇi*, *Pūtimaṣā*, *Nakula*, Nārāyaṇa, *Devarāta*, *Kali*, Mantrapradīpaka ?, *Yoginārāyana*, Ratnamālā, Jñānakaumudikā, Sudhāsāra, *Yavana*, and *Vālakhilya*.

In the above list, as indicated by those in italics, there are several names which are not to be found among authors of Vaiṣṇava Āgamas listed by Schrader in his *Introduction to the*

Pāñcarātra or seen in ms. Catalogues. In the middle and then at the end there are five names which appear to be names of works rather than of authors— *Kālapradīpaka, Mantra-pradīpaka, Ratnamālā, Jñānakaumudikā, and Sudhāsāra.* There are two cases of repetition and some in which the names are seen in a corrupt form.

It is from all these works and from those relating to the 64 Arts that material is extracted for this digest.

इत्यादिसर्वशास्त्रेषु चतुःषष्टिकलासु च ।
सारमुद्धृत्य सर्वत्र वक्ष्ये शृणु तलोदरि ॥

The following is the subject matter of the thirty chapters of this digest; an anukramaṇikā at the outset of the digest enumerates these topics, and I have added notes in some places from the examination of the contents of the thirty chapters.

Ch. I. The Primary Being and the Trimūrtis.

II. Peoples; Jātis; different kinds of beings on earth.

III. Account of the Pātāla and other worlds and their inhabitants.

IV-V. The geography of the worlds and of Jambūdvīpa: the mountains, rivers and Śiva and Viṣṇu temples therein. Although shrines in other parts of India are mentioned, the author enumerates, comparatively, large number of South Indian shrines, including the smaller ones, *e. g.*, among Viṣṇu shrines, we have here Siṁhācala, Śrīkākula (Deity-Āndhranāyaka); Ahobala and Veṅkaṭādri—these in Andhra; and Ghaṭikācala, Hastiśaila and Kāñcī where 18 temples of Viṣṇu (Tirupattis as they are referred to) are referred to— एतादृशाः महापुण्याः काञ्च्यामष्टादश स्मृताः), Vīkṣāraṇya (Tiruvallūr) Bhaktasāra (Tiramiliśai) Śrīmuṣṇa, Citrakūṭa (Cidambaram), Śrīraṅga, Kumbhakonam, Sāra (Tirucheerai), Tirukoṣṭhiyūr, Madurai, Darbhaśayanam and so on.

Similarly, among Siva shrines, after some North Indian names. we have a large number of South Indian names : Drākṣārāma, Kālahasti, Vṛddhācala, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Kāñcī, Cidambara, Svetāraṇya, Amṛtaghaṭa (Tirukkaḍayūr) Mayūra, Vaṭāraṇya, Madhyārjuna, Kumbhakoṇa, Śrīvānchya, Tejinīvana, Paraśunṛttapura, Pāpanāśa, Śucīndra, Pañcanada (Tiruvayyāru), Uttarakośamaṅgai, Kamalālaya (Tiruvārūr), Madurai, Kanyākumāri, Setu. Under a list of holy places called Araṇyas are mentioned the Campakāraṇya (Mannārguḍi), Vīkṣāraṇya (Tiruvallūr), Vedāraṇya and Śvetāraṇya (Tiruveṅkāḍu).

VI. Sun and Moon and their motion ; eclipses ; Time.

VII. The determination of time in regard to rites relating to devas and pitṛs. After the circumambulation of the peepul (Aśvatthapradakṣiṇa), it is interesting to note that the work enjoins listening to religious expositions by Brahmanas in local languages.

श्रोतव्या विप्रमुखतः पाठ्या सा (वा) स्वस्य भाषया ।

VIII-IX. The duties of men of different classes ; Sāmudrikalakṣaṇa etc.

X. Astrology.

XI. Nīti or polity. Here Venkaṭarāya sets forth a large number of maxims of conduct based on events and characters in the epics and Purāṇas ; one line of the Anuṣṭubh refers to the story and one line gives the maxim. This compares with Kṣemendra's Cārucaryā (K. M. Gucchakas, II, p. 128–138).

श्लोकार्धेन प्रवक्ष्यामि नीतिम् , अन्येन तत्कथाम् ।

XII. Gems and their valuation.

XIII. Elephants, horses etc. and their evaluation. Temple worship, chief forms of Śiva and Viṣṇu

	Images. Building of temples, 18 music instruments to be available in the temple are given and among these is mentioned the Nāgasara which is noted as the foremost, a detail which corresponds to the position in South Indian temples. (श्रेष्ठं नागसरं चैव) This is followed by a succinct account of dance and music, as part of temple worship. There are some interesting details here, which may be noted on another occasion.
XIV-XV.	Śrauta and Gṛhya rites and the fruits of fire-worship.
XVI.	Brāhmanas and their importance; the sixty-four arts ; these latter are according to the late lists in which all systems of knowledge including Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Vedānta and other Śāstras are included.
XVII.	Daily routine. The greatness of Cow.
XVIII.	Deva-pūjā, Sāligrāma-parīkṣā, Śivaliṅga and Pūjā.
XIX.	Ātithya or receiving guests.
XX.	Feasting. Strī-sambhoga.
XXI-XXII.	Good and bad dreams and their reading. The stations of life-Gṛhastha, Vānaprastha and Yati.
XXIII.	Jñānakāṇḍa, dualistic and monistic schools.
XXIV.	Different conceptions of salvation.
XXV.	Women and Pātivratya; description of son and the characteristics of a dutiful son.
XXVI.	Duties to be performed by a son. Expiations. Śrāddha.
XXVII.	Duties, Gifts.
XXVIII.	The Avatāras of Viṣṇu.
XXIX.	Nārāyaṇa ; hymns on Him and Lakṣmī.

XXX. Śiva and his destroying of Tripura. Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. Greatness of Kāśī. Śiva's supremacy. The conclusion of the work.

From the above, it could be seen that while the purāṇic literature would form the major source of material for this digest, its title Purāṇārthasaṅgraha should not make us take this work as a direct digest of the Purāṇas alone. The author is no doubt widely read, and now and then he refers to his sources or authorities when he mentions a rare or less-known idea. Thus when describing Sṛṣṭi, he mentions Parāśara (upa) Purāṇa on a detail : some Vedic texts, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are referred to by name. In the chapter on Nīti, Kāmandaka is referred to. In dance, Bharata is mentioned, but without mention of the name, the Abhinayadarpaṇa of Nandikeśvara is drawn upon.

पुराणसुभाषितानि

(नारदीयपुराणात्)

किमत्र चित्रं यत्सन्तः परार्थफलकाङ्क्षिणः ।
न हि द्रुमाश्च भोगार्थं फलन्ति जगतीतले ॥ (१।७।६७)

अन्यदुःखेन यो दुःखी योऽन्यहर्षेण हर्षतः ।
स एव जगतामीशो नररूपधरो हरिः ॥ (१।७।६९)

सद्भिः श्रुतानि शास्त्राणि परदुःखविमुक्तये ।
सर्वेषां दुःखनाशाय इति सन्तो वदन्ति हि ॥ (१।७।७०)

अहो सत्संगतिर्लोके किं पापं न विनाशयेत् ।
न ददाति सुखं किं वा नराणां पुण्यकर्मणाम् ॥ (१।८।६)

जडोऽपि याति पूज्यत्वं सत्संगाज्जगतीतले ।
कलामात्रोऽपि शीतांशुः शम्भुना स्वीकृतो यथा ॥ (१।८।८)

उपेक्षेत समर्थः सन् धर्मस्य परिपन्थिनः ।
स एव सर्वनाशाय हेतुभूतो न संशयः ॥ (१।८।४२)

दासभावं च शत्रूणां वारस्त्रीणां च सौहृदम् ।
साधुभावं च सर्पाणां श्रेयस्कामो न विश्वसेत् ॥ (१।८।४५)

प्रहासं कुर्वते नित्यं यान् दन्तान्दर्शयन्खलाः ।
तानेव दर्शयन्त्याशु स्वसामर्थ्यविपर्यये ॥ (१।८।४६)

पिशुना जिह्वया पूर्वं परुषं प्रवदन्ति च ।
अतीवकरुणं वाक्यं वदन्त्येव तथाबलाः ॥ (१।८।४७)

श्रेयस्कामो भवेद्यस्तु नीतिशास्त्रार्थकोविदः ।
साधुत्वं समभावं च खलानां नैव विश्वसेत् ॥ (१।८।४८)

स्वकर्मफलभोगानां हेतुमात्रा हि जन्तवः ।
कर्माणि दैवमूलानि दैवाधीनमिदं जगत् ॥ (१।८।५६)

ऐश्वर्यमदमत्तानां क्षुधितानां च कामिनाम् ।
अहङ्कारविमूढानां विवेको नैव जायते ॥ (१।८।१०३)

भवेद्यदि खलस्य श्रीः सैव लोकविनाशिनी ।
यथा सखाग्नेः पवनः पन्नगस्य यथा विषम् ॥ (१।८।१०८)

अहो धनमदान्धस्तु पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति ।
यदि पश्यत्यात्महितं स पश्यति न संशयः ॥ (१।८।११८)

परोपकारनिरताः क्षमासारा हि साधवः ॥ (१।८।१२२उ)

दुर्जनेष्वपि सत्त्वेषु दयां कुर्वन्ति साधवः ।
न हि संहरते ज्योत्स्नां चन्द्रश्चाण्डालवेश्मनः ॥ (१।८।१२३)

बाध्यमानोऽपि सुजनः सर्वेषां सुखकृद्भवेत् ।
ददाति परमां तुष्टिं भक्ष्यमाणोऽमरैः शशी ॥ (१।८।२४)

अविवेको हि सर्वेषामापदां परमं पदम् ।
विवेकरहितो लोके पशुरेव न संशयः ॥ (१।९।४०)

स्वात्मजे वाऽन्यपुत्रे वा यः समत्वेन वर्तते ।
न तस्य पुत्रशोकः स्यादेष धर्मः सनातनः ॥ (१।११।४८)

आत्मवत्सर्वभूतानि पश्यतां शान्तचेतसाम् ।
अभिन्नमात्मानः सर्वं को दाता दीयते च किम् ॥ (१।११।१२०)

दारिद्र्याम्बुधिमग्नस्य सर्वमेतन्न शोभते ।
प्रियाः पुत्राश्च पौत्राश्च बान्धवा भ्रातरस्तथा ॥ (१।११।१४६)

आशायाश्च ये दासास्ते दासाः सर्वलोकस्य ।
आशा येषां दासी तेषां दासयते लोकः ॥ (१।११।१५१)

मानो हि महतां लोके धनमक्षयमुच्यते ।
तस्मिन्नाशाख्यरिपुणा माने नष्टे दरिद्रता ॥ (१।११।१५२)

अहो दुःखमहोदुःखमहो दुःखं दरिद्रता ।
तत्रापि पुत्रभार्याणां बाहुल्यमतिदुःखदम् ॥ (१।११।१५४)

तरवः किं न जीवन्ति तेऽपि लोके परार्थकाः ।
यत्र मूलफलैर्वृक्षाः परकार्यं प्रकुर्वते ॥ (१।१२।२५)

नास्ति क्षमासमा माता नास्ति कीर्तिसमं धनम् ।
नास्ति ज्ञानसमो लाभो न च धर्मसमः पिता ॥ (१।२३।३१)

अवश्यमेव भोक्तव्यं कर्मणां त्वक्षयं फलम् ।
नाभुक्तं क्षीयते कर्म कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥ (१।३१।१६९)

न जातु कामः कामानामुपभोगेन शाम्यति ।
इतोऽधिकं कदालप्स्यं इति कामस्तु वर्द्धते ॥ १।३३।९८

भावशुद्धिविहीनानां समस्तं कर्म निष्फलम् ।
तस्माद्रागादिकं सर्वं परित्यज्य सुखी भवेत् ॥ १।३३।१०२

मन एव मनुष्याणां कारणं बन्धमोक्षयोः ।
तस्मात्तदभिसंयोज्य परात्मनि सुखी भवेत् ॥ १।३४।५८

जीर्यन्ति जीर्यतः केशाः दंता जीर्यंति जीर्यतः ।
चक्षुःश्रोत्रे च जीर्येते तृष्णैका तरुणायते ॥ १।३५।२१

आशा भङ्गकरी पुंसामजेयारातिसन्निभा ।
तस्मादाशां त्यजेत्प्राज्ञो यदीच्छेच्छाश्वतं सुखम् ॥ १।३५।२४

आशाभिभूता ये मर्त्या महामोहा महोद्धताः ।
अवमानादिकं दुःखं न जानन्ति कदाप्यहो ॥ १।३५।२७

सुजनो न याति वैरं परहितबुद्धिर्विनाशकालेऽपि ।
छेदेऽपि चन्दनतरुः सुरभयति मुखं कुठारस्य ॥ १।३७।३५

THE GLORIFICATION OF THE GREAT GODDESS

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे मार्कण्डेयपुराणान्तर्गतस्य (अ० ८१-९३) 'देवीमाहात्म्य'स्य प्रतीकात्मकत्वं विवृतम् । 'देवी' इति नाम्ना विश्वस्य मूलं स्थितिहेतुर्लयस्थानं च किंचिदनिर्वचनीयं तत्त्वं पुराणेषु गीयते । सैव 'आद्या शक्तिः' इत्यपि निर्दिश्यते । ऋग्वेदे सैव स्वाव्याकृतमूलरूपेण व्याकृतरूपेण च 'वाग्' 'आम्भृणी' इति चोच्यते । 'मही माता' 'देवमाता' 'अदिति' प्रभृतिभिर्नामभिः सैव तत्र निर्दिश्यते । सैव पञ्चसु महाभूतेषु सूक्ष्मतमे महाभूते आकाशे 'शब्द' रूपेण 'परमे व्योमन्' च 'अर्थ' रूपेण 'संकल्प' रूपेण वा तिष्ठति । परमात्मविषयकं यत्किंचिद् वेदेषु प्रोक्तं, तत् साकल्येन पुराणोक्ताया देव्या अम्बिकाया विषयेऽपि वक्तुं पार्यते । वैदिकपरमात्मतत्त्वमेव पुराणेषु 'नित्या सनातनी परमात्मिका परा देवी'' इत्यादिरूपेण वर्ण्यते ।

वैदिकतत्त्वदर्शने चिन्मयमेतत्तत्त्वं 'देवः' 'देवी'त्युभयथैव निर्दिश्यते । तदेव परमं तत्त्वं सृष्ट्याः पितृतत्त्वस्य मातृतत्त्वस्य च परं मूलम् । सृष्ट्याः पितृतत्त्वं 'देवः' 'स्वयंभूः' 'द्यौः' 'पिता' 'सत्यम्' इत्यादिभिर्नामभिः, मातृतत्त्वं च 'देवी' 'परमेष्ठिनी' 'विराट्' 'महत्' 'पृथिवी' 'माता' 'ऋतम्' इत्यादिभिर्नामभिरुपदिश्यते । व्याकृतसृष्टौ देवतत्त्वम् एकवीरत्वेन कल्प्यते, तस्य च प्रतिद्वन्द्विरूपेण असुरतत्त्वं विद्यते । तयोर्देवासुरयोर्दैवासुरं नाम युद्धं सृष्टिरूपिणि रणस्थले सदैव सर्वत्र च प्रचलति । 'देव' इति ज्योतिरमृतं सत्यं च, 'असुर' इति तमो मृत्युरनृतं च । असुरतत्त्वं सदैव देवतत्त्वमभिभवितुं यतते । परन्तु दैवासुरं युद्धं नित्यमेव देवानां विजये, असुराणां च पराजये पर्यवस्यति । समष्टि-स्तरे प्रवर्त्तितं तमःप्रतीकानां तमोमूर्तीनां महिषचण्डमुण्डरक्तबीजशुम्भनिशुम्भादीनामसुराणां पराजये निश्शेषदेवगणशक्तिसमूहमूर्त्याश्च देव्या विजये पर्यवसितं दैवासुरं युद्धमेव 'देवीमाहात्म्य'स्य प्रतिपाद्यं वर्त्तते । अखिलेयं सृष्टिः सत्त्वं रजस्तमः, मनः प्राणवाग्-इत्यादिना त्रिविधरूपेण व्यज्यते, अतो हेतोर्देव्यास्त्रिविधमेव चरित्रं 'देवीमाहात्म्ये' वर्णितम् । देव्याः प्रथमचरित्रं मनो-भूमिकासम्बन्धि, द्वितीयं मध्यमचरित्रं प्राण-भूमिकासम्बन्धि, तृतीयम् उत्तरचरित्रं च वाग् (= भूतसृष्टि)-भूमिकासम्बन्धि विद्यते । वागात्मिकायां भूतसृष्ट्यां च मनःप्राणयोरप्यभिव्यक्तिर्भवति, अतस्तृतीये उत्तरचरित्रे एव देव्या विजयस्य पर्यवसानं प्रदर्शितम् ।

'देवीमाहात्म्ये' मेधा ऋषिः ज्ञानस्य ज्ञानकर्मणोः सामञ्जस्यस्य च प्रतिनिधिः, सुरथो नाम राजा ज्ञानरहितस्य कर्मणः प्रतिनिधिः, समाधिर्नाम वैश्यश्च मोहस्य प्रतिनिधिः। अस्मिन् निबन्धे विष्णुनिद्रा-विष्णुकर्णमल-मधु-कैटभ-महिष-चण्ड-मुण्ड-रक्तबीज-शुम्भ-निशुम्भादीनां प्रतीकात्मकत्वं सविस्तरं व्याख्यातम्। देवीमाहात्म्यान्तर्गतानां देव्याः स्तोत्राणां वैदिकदृष्ट्या व्याख्यानं च कृतम्। किमर्थं च देवीमाहात्म्य-कथा सावर्णिमनुना सम्बद्धा वर्त्तते इत्यप्यत्र हेतुपुरस्सरं विचारितम्।

देवीचरित्रं रात्रिविषयकं, रात्रिचरित्रं वा। मोह एव रात्रिः। रात्रिरेव माताऽपि कथ्यते। तस्यामेवासुरा बलीयांसो भवन्ति। दिवातत्त्वं च ज्ञानतत्त्वं देवतत्त्वं वा, तदेव नारायणात्मिका शक्तिर्देवी-त्यभिधीयते। तस्या विजये सर्वे देवा महीयन्ते। इदमेव देवीमाहात्म्यम्। देशे काले च तस्य महिमा सदा प्रथते।

The Devī-Māhātmya or Durgā Saptaśatī forms an important episode of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Chapters 81-93. The text has the highest esoteric value as a scripture accepted for daily recitation all over India. There is no doubt that it is an inspired work of a rare genius, possessing extraordinary poetic excellence. From the point of contents it is unparalleled throughout Sanskrit literature as a unique document on 'the glorification of the Goddess' (*Devī-Māhātmya*). The real greatness of the text consists in the meaning emboxed in the shell of the story. Who is the great Goddess, Mahādevī, eulogised here? Who is Mahisha, the Demon-king, who throws a challenge to the Goddess and is worsted in the conflict?

The Goddess in the Vedas

The Goddess represents the metaphysical principle of Power (*Śakti*), the transcendent source and support of all creatures and creation as propounded both in the Vedas and in the Purāṇas. In the Ṛigveda, 10.125, we find a clear and emphatic statement of the Great Goddess as the Universal Power called *Vāk*. She is the daughter of the Primeval Ocean (*Ambhaḥ, Samudra*), and named *Āmbhṛiṇī*, both in the unmanifest source (परमे व्योमन्), and in the manifest cosmos (द्यावा-पृथिवी). She is the Supreme Power as Speech or *Vāk*. What we designate speech as *vāk* is the same as *śabda* which is the attribute of *Ākāśa*. In the *Ākāśa* which is the subtlest of the five material elements the Goddess exists as the 'Word' (*Śabda*), but in the highest Empyrean (परमे व्योमन्) the Goddess exists as the 'Meaning' (*Artha*) which is the same as the 'Idea' (*Saṁkalpa*) or the Mind of the Creator. She is the symbol of the highest consciousness (*Vijñānaghana*), namely the Power as *Chit-śakti*, which is identical with *Brahman*. The Cosmic Wheel comprising the gods *Vasus*, *Rudras*, *Ādityas* and *Viśve-devas* moves in endless spirals and circles by one single Power which is both manifest and unmanifest. She is the 'World as Power'— 'शक्तिः करोति ब्रह्माण्डम्' (Devī Bh. 1.8.37). This Devī is the pre-eminent Goddess, the Supreme Energy whose nature is the Highest Self and who is eternal and the object of meditation by the mind :—

ते वै शक्तिं परां देवीं परमाख्यां परात्मिकाम् ।
ध्यायन्ति मनसा नित्यं नित्यां मत्वा सनातनीम् ॥

(Devī Bh. 1.8.47)

According to the Indian metaphysical tradition whatever has been stated in the Vedic formulations about the Supreme Being, all that stands in the completest manner, in the conception of Devī as given in the Purāṇas. Her general name is *Ambikā* the Mother. In the Ṛigveda she is called the Great Mother ('मही माता' V. 47.1). She is the mother of Gods (*Deva-mātā*) identified as *Aditi*, universal Nature or Infinity (Ṛig. VIII.101,15; I.153.3). She is also named as *Virāj*, the Universal Mother, symbolised as the Cosmic Cow whose teats ooze out ambrosial milk for all creation (AV. VIII. 9).

The Goddess as the Ultimate Reality

According to the Indian metaphysical thought the ultimate principle is *Brahman*, the Self-existent Reality called *Svayambhū*. He is the Supreme Cause of all causes and there is no other cause beyond him. The exploration of any other cause as His substratum becomes alogical ('तर्कप्रतिष्ठानात्'). He is conceived of as the Eternal Man, but at the same time, and it is the same thing as to speak of Him, as the Eternal Woman (cf. 'त्वं स्त्री त्वं पुमान्').

The Vedic metaphysicians ascended to bold heights of imagination that the ultimate Reality may be spoken of as *Deva* and with equal justification as *Devī*. As the term *Deva* (from *div*, to shine) indicates, it is the one Supreme Light that fills both heaven and earth, that which in its transcendent aspect is one becomes two for the sake of creation. It is a process of auto-fission that the father-principle and the mother-principle emanate out of the one Reality, spoken of as the two halves of a single egg. The one half is spoken of as *Svayambhū*, as *Vṛishā* (Male), as *Pitā* (Father), as *Dyauḥ* (Heaven) etc. The other half is named as *Parameshṭhī*, *Virāj*, *Yoshā*, Mātā, *Pṛithivī*, etc. The whole conception of Devī is that of *Virāj*, the Mother who creates and manifests herself in her creation at different levels, at times as the Great Mother, and again as the Youthful Daughter, and again as Daksha, the presiding deity and efficient cause of each individual *Yajña* or organised system.

Cosmogonic Views of the Ancient Ṛishis

In order to understand the conception of Devī, one should have a clear idea of the cosmogonic view held by the ancient Indian thinkers. Creation is conceived of as at two levels, *viz.* Mind and Matter. The first is the *Mānasī Sṛishṭi*, i. e. creation on the plane of thought, and the second is the *Maithunī Sṛishṭi*, i. e. the creation on the plane of gross material elements. Each creation is preceded by the two Parents. In the case of the corporeal Self (*Śārīra-purusha*, Taitt. Ar. 3.2.3) the two parents are the father and mother, *Pitā* and *Mātā*, symbolised as *Dyāvā-Pṛithivī* (*Dyauḥ* = *Pitā* ; *Pṛithivī* = *Mātā*). This is the reference to the *Maithunī-Sṛishṭi*, i. e. to manifestation of life in men, animals and plants, where bi-sexual union is an essential principle. But on the plane of the mind the two parents are named as *Svayambhū* and *Virāj*, *Mahā Deva* and *Mahī Mātā*. The one is like the centre and other the circumference of the circle. The centre attains to its greatness (*mahimā*) in the form of the circumference (*maṇḍala*). This is the same as *Mahat*, the Universal. According to the Vedic conception the Universal is spoken of as *Virāj*, the same as *Mahat*, which the Gītā speaks of as the

Yoni, the great Womb of the Mother in which she receives the seed of creation from the opposite principle (मम योनिर्महद् ब्रह्म तस्मिन् गर्भं दधाम्यहम्', Gītā, 14.3). We may put it in the form of the following equation :—

(1) देव = स्वयम्भू = पिता = द्यौः = रेतस् = सत्य = हृदय (i.e. केन्द्र or उक्थ);

(2) देवी = विराट् = माता = पृथिवी = योनि = ऋत = महिमा = (i,e. मण्डल).

The Daivāsuram Conflict

Each *Deva* is conceived of on the plane of manifestation in the hero-pattern (*eka-vīra*). It means that in order to demonstrate its effective existence, he must have his counterpart in the form of an *Asura*. The hero does three things. He conquers the enemy. He organises the struggle and he leads his hosts to victory. The universe is in the visible form of a *Daivāsuraṁ* conflict in which the *Devas* and the *Asuras* are locked in a trial of strength every moment and every where. The *Asura* is intolerant of the *Deva*. He strives to invade and penetrate into the sphere of the *Deva*. The *Deva* as hero resists and retaliates and his onslaught ends in prostration of the *Asura*.

This ever-raging conflict is the keynote of the *Devī-Māhātmya*. The Great Goddess presiding over the *Mahat* or *Virāj*, namely the Universal, finds her counterpart in the Universal *Asura* called *Mahisha*. Both the words *mahat* and *mahisha* are derived from the same root *mah* to magnify, to become great. In *Svayambhū* there is no struggle. *Svayambhū* is pure stasis (*sthiti-tattva*). All objects originate from movement (*gati-tattva*). *Svayambhū* is *Sattva* and *Parameshṭhī* is *Rajas*. *Svayambhū* is pure light, but *Parameshṭhī* is the region of light and darkness. The conflict pattern, therefore, starts with the region of *Mahat* that forms the *charitra*, or the exploit of the Goddess. All the *Asuras* and the *Devas* exist in the Universal. The *Devas* are types of *Yajña*, order, system, controlled movement. The *Asuras* represent *a-yajña* (i.e. *Yajña-vidhvaṁsa*, disruption of *Yajña*,) disorder, anarchy, riotous movement. The dual polarity of the *Daivāsuram* pattern is symbolised as Devī and Asuras in three-fold conflict.

The Three Charitras of the Goddess

Since all creation is a triple manifestation in accordance with the principle of the One becoming the Many, the Devī-Charitra is conceived of as in three parts:—

(1) पूर्व चरित्र—the divine conflict against Madhu and Kaiṭabha;

(2) मध्यम चरित्र—the battle against the *Asura* Mahisha;

(3) उत्तर चरित्र—having three constituents:

(a) Battle against Śumbha and Niśumbha;

(b) Battle against Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa;

(c) Battle against Raktabīja.

The question arises as to why the Goddess organises the three-fold endeavour, and secondly why She should side with the *Devas*, although She is the Universal Mother who creates both the *Devas* and the *Asuras*. Light and darkness are equally her emanations, why then She should not be on the side of the *Asuras*? A subsidiary question may also be asked as to why the *Asuras* always are on the aggressive in opening the front against the *Devas*? To this we may reply as follows.

According to both the Vedic and Purāṇic traditions, the cosmos implies a basic *Trinity*. In philosophy we call it *traiguṇya*, in religion and cult-worship *Trideva*, in the Gītā it is *Tri-purusha* (the doctrine of three *Purushas*, viz. *Kshara*, *Akshara* and *Avyaya*), in the ritual of the Yaiña *Agni-tretā* (three Fires), in the spatial conception three *Lokas* (*Prithivī*, *Antariksha* and *Dyauḥ*), in the temporal conception three divisions of time (past, present and future), in the metres as गायत्री, त्रिष्टुप्, जगती; etc.. The over-riding statement which explains all these trinitarian principles is symbolised as Three Steps of Vishṇu— 'इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम्.' Vishṇu is the Deity pervading all time and space. His three steps encompass the entire time-space relata. A step is the symbol of movement (*gati*), and the three strides of Vishṇu are the fundamental traits of all manifest forms.

These triple forms are represented in the three-fold battles of the Goddess. One of the basic patterns of trinity is that of the three states of consciousness called *jāgrata*, *svapna* and *sushupti*, or of the three constituents of the self, spoken of as *Manas*, *Prāṇa* and *Vāk*, i. e. Mind, Life and Matter—एतन्मयो वाऽयमात्मा मनोमय:. प्राणमय: वाङ्मय: । *Vāk* is the support of the *Pañca-bhūtas*. Since *Ākāśa* is the most subtle of the five, and Vāk or *Śabda* is its attribute, therefore Vāk stands as an appropriate symbol for all the five material elements. Now the conflict pattern naturally manifests itself on these three levels. The पूर्वंचरित्र against Madhu-Kaiṭabha relates to the plane of the Mind or the Psychic Man, the मध्यमचरित्र against Mahisha relates to the plane of *Prāṇa* or the Vital Man, the उत्तरचरित्र against Śumbha-Niśumbha relates to the *Pañcha-bhūtas*, the Physical Man. The Goddess combines in her form the three *Guṇas*. She is *Sāttvikī*, *Rājasī* and *Tāmasī*. Her complete victory implies the annihilation of darkness on these three planes. The *Asura* deserves beating whether he is on the plane of mind or life or matter, and the divine power must justify itself in the over-all rout of the *Asura*. The victory of the Goddess is universal vindication of the divine principle against the forces of darkness and disorder.

Devas and Asuras in relation to Yajña

Cosmos is the outcome of order from a preceding chaos. It is essential that in the final scheme of things order must triumph over chaos. Life emerges from the supremacy of order, while chaotic condition is the negation of life. Order is *Yajña*. *Yajña* is presided over by *Deva*, the divine power. The *Devas* organise the success of the *Yajña*, whereas the *Asuras* batter against the *Yajña* and rejoice in its disruption. It is therefore essential for the *Deva* to preserve the cosmic *Yajña* which is the symbol of his own fulfilment. The *Devī*, therefore, must lend her support to the Devas, so that the eternal will of the Creator shall not be thwarted by energy becoming riotous.

The *Asuras* become aggressive, time and again, because the conflict is a recurrent motif, ever present in time and place. In the order of nature light and darkness are planned together and co-exist, as seen in the rotation of night and day, but the principle of envelopment may create darkness at any time There is within the womb of each order an ever-present tendency towards disorder or disintegration. As soon as this tendency reaches a point where the balance is disturbed, the organism begins to crumble. This is symbolised as the ascendancy of the *Asura*. Both *Deva* and *Asura* are forms of Prāṇic energy, and their ordained harmony is essential for life. Order is the norm of nature, whereas disorder is ephemeral. Normally we live and breathe in order, and so we are not conscious of its presence, but its negation or absence at once throws us into activity. The *Deva* is *Sattva* and the *Asura* is *Rajas*. Therefore, the presence of the *Asura* is always an aggression and compels battle, for which the *Deva* marshalls himself as the Hero. The *Asura* is like the bursting of a dam or like the darting of the lightning flash which spells disruption. As soon as the proper bounds or the confines within which the *Asura* must remain are transgressed, there is no other way but a riotous reign of Asura-power darting at will into the realm of the *Devas*. The impact of Āsuric power is very tremendous and for a time it seems that the *Deva* has succumbed or is being swept off his seat. But as soon as the intercepted *Deva* becomes re-united with the transcendent reality or the ultimate source which supports the cosmic order, the *Deva* with re-organised power becomes ready to meet the aggression, and divine army under a new leadership marches to victory. In the battle that ensues there are many challenges, skirmishes, campaigns and then final victory. Such is the pattern of the conflict between the Angels and the Titans which is portrayed in the Durgā-Saptaśatī or the Devī-māhātmya. The glory of the Great Goddess is permanent and eternal, that of the *Asura* transitory and fleeting.

The Opening Scene of the Story

The story opens in the hermitage of a Ṛishi named Medhāḥ. There comes to his *āśrama* a king named Suratha, worsted in battle by an enemy and forced to leave his kingdom. The third figure in the drama is that of a Vaiśya named Samādhi who becomes dispossessed of his wealth by his own sons coveting his hoarded treasure. Both the king and the merchant have their problems, which they submit for solution to the Ṛishi. Now these are the three types of persons wno are present everywhere, or the three archetypes of the human temperaments of which life is constituted. They are invariable types of the human soul. The Rishi is the type for whom all problems have been resolved. He represents wisdom or the ideal of Brahmahood or knowledge and discrimination between good and evil. He stands for balance between the demands of the world and those of the Self (*Ātman*). In his mind there is no delusion (*moha*). He is the ideal Teacher which Indian metaphysical and religious tradition has created as the perfect type of a human being or the super-man. The king typifies the path of action (*karma*). Inspite of his best efforts he is overtaken by destiny and in his discomfiture he seeks solace from the man of wisdom. The rich householder represents the plight of gold, which although so eagerly coveted by all even at the expense of the best substance of life, or self, becomes the cause of unhappiness, and attracts round it the darkness of Āsuric temptation. Even the kith and kin for whom a person lives turn against him, and the poor wretch, even bereft of gold continues to be seized with *Moha* in the form of anxiety for the welfare of those whose ties of affection have been found to be unreal. The Ṛishi stands for *Jñāna* and the king for *Karma* and the Vaiśya for a life of confusion in which utter blindness of delusion prevails.

The Saptaśatī divides human temperaments into three types, namely those who see in the day, secondly those who see in the night, and thirdly those who have an unthwarted vision both in the day and at night :—

दिवान्धाः प्राणिनः केचिद् रात्रावन्धास्तथापरे ।
केचिद् दिवा तथा रात्रौ प्राणिनस्तुल्यदृष्टयः ॥ (Devī-māh. 1.35).

Here the day is the symbol of light or *Jñāna* and the night is the symbol of darkness or bondage of world, *Karma*. The meaning is that there are some who do not care for the path of wisdom and are utterly engulfed in the whirlpool of worldly life. Such are blind by day. There are others who are indifferent to the demands of life or worldly affairs, revelling only in empty aspirations for higher knowledge. The fact is that real spiritual attainment cannot come to a fugitive from the battle of life. Victory here alone can ensure success there. The third life is of such persons whose vision is informed with light both in the affairs of this world and the other world. That is, for whom both *Jñāna* and *Karma* are of equal value. This visual balance is the feature of Ṛishi Medhāḥ. He does not suffer any visual acuity.

Listening to the twofold problem, the Ṛishi expounds the philosophy of the Divine Power which has created the world—*Devī-Mahāmāyā*, who is both *Vidyā-Māyā* and *Avidyā-Māyā*. The former is the cause of liberation and is the eternal manifestation of the glory of the Lord :—

सा विद्या परमा मुक्तेर्हेतुभूता सनातनी । (Devī-māh. 1. 44).

As opposed to it *Avidyā Māyā* leads to worldly bondage and also represents the unlimited power of an omnipotent divinity—

संसारबन्धहेतुश्च सैव सर्वेश्वरी ।

(*ibid.*)

The two aspects of the *Devī* are opposed to each other, but both exist together in each centre and the affairs of man. Only one has to discriminate the one from the other. So the solution to the divergent problems of life is one and the same, namely a true understanding of the Divine Power at all levels of manifestation, and also to start with a determination to achieve victory in the conflict of good and evil that is inherent in the divine scheme of things.

The Pūrva-Charitra

The writer divides the plot into three parts and each of them takes the form of a conflict between the *Devī* and an *Asura*. The scene opens at the time of the beginning of creation

10

when Bhagavān Vishṇu who had been sleeping in the Ocean of Infinity becomes inclined to put an end to the state of dissolution (*Pralaya*) and to start afresh the creative process. There is the two-fold process of *mumukshā* and *sisṛikshā*, i. e. the withdrawal and release of creative activity into and from the navel (*nābhi*) or the immortal centre of the *Mahāpurusha*, variously named as Nārāyaṇa, Vishṇu, Hiraṇyagarbha, etc. As the first stage the Goddess of Sleep (*Nidrā Devī*) who was present within the body of Nārāyaṇa relaxed her hold and was expelled outside of His person. This is the language of symbolism. In plain words, the state of Rest (*sthiti-bhāva*) is spoken of as *Nidrā* or Sleep, and Vishṇu is required to come into a state of consciousness, i. e. open his eyes to release the process of creating the cosmos. This he does by working on two planes, namely that of mind and matter. From the first he creates Brahmā who is the Deity of all knowledge, or in other words, the source of *Vedas* representing the mind of the Creator. The second object to be created were the two *Asuras*, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, said to be produced from the impurity of Vishṇu's ears—

तदा द्वावसुरौ घोरौ विख्यातौ मधुकैटभौ ।
विष्णुकर्णमलोद्भूतौ हन्तुं ब्रह्माणमुद्यतौ ॥

(Devī-māh., 1.50)

This is a peculiarly perplexing wording as it stands, but is quite in order to convey the symbolical meaning. The principle of *Karṇa* or ear of the cosmic *Purusha* finds mention in the Ṛigveda where *śrotra* is equated with the directions of space (*Diśaḥ*) which is the same as Space or *Akāśa*—

पद्भ्यां भूमिर्दिशः श्रोत्रात् तथा लोकाँअकल्पयत् ।

(Ṛig., X. 10. 14)

Thus we get the formula, namely, श्रोत्र or कर्ण = दिशः = आकाश = वाक् or शब्द. *Śabda* or sound is the attribute of *Ākāśa*. Since *Akāśa* is the most subtle of the five material elements, its attribute which is *Sabda* or *Vāk* was accepted as the best symbol for all the *Pañcha Bhūtas*. In fact, Vishṇu's *Karṇa-mala* is here an appropriate symbol of manifestation of matter. Gross material creation is due to the interplay of the three *Guṇas*, *Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*. *Sattva* is the principle of rest, *Rajas* is the principle of activity and *Tamas* is the principle of inertia. Brahmā is defined as *Pratishṭhā* or *Sthiti* which is *Sattva* and functions as the substratum against which the two other forces of centrifugal and centripetal motion become manifest, These are here symbolised as *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha*. So long as they remain under the control of Brahmā, the system of the three *Guṇas* maintains its order, but anarchy proceeds if the fulcrum is disturbed. Therefore the two Asuras desire to kill Brahmā 'हन्तुं ब्रह्माणमुद्यतौ'. This is the first conflict to be resolved, namely, that of *Sattva* or the stabled centre against the impact of the dual forces released from the focus in all directions. Brahmā by himself is powerless without the support of Vishṇu. His seat is on the lotus which springs from the navel of Vishṇu. The navel is the centre of immortality. The universal Nārāyaṇa-Purusha is also the same as *Sattva*. Brahmā invokes his support, and of all the great dynamic principles which abide in Him, through a *stotra* addressed to the Goddess of Sleep, i. e. Vishṇu's *Sakti* withdrawn into the centre or the unmanifest source of all creational principles and forces. In this *stotra* we find a string of Vedic and Purāṇic symbols identified with the Great Goddess. Some of the important ones are as follows :—

Svāhā (स्वाहा) and *Svadhā* (स्वधा)—*Svāhā* is the symbol of Gods and *Svadhā* of the Pitṛis. *Deva* and *Pitṛi* are two important principles of creation. The first symbolises Agni and the second Soma. Agni is energy and Soma is Matter. Agni is the eater of food (*annāda*) and Soma is food (*anna*). Agni is the father-principle and Soma the mother-principle. The father gives and the mother receives the germ of life. These two processes are connotated by the words *Svāhā*, which means giving away (from *sva* + *ā* + *hā* त्यागे) and *Svadhā* which means depositing (*sva* + *dhā* धारणपोषणयोः). The mother receives the seed from the father (*dhāraṇa*) and develops it into a foetus by the miraculous power of her womb (*poshaṇa*). Since she measures out all the possibilities of existence for the Babe (*Kumāra*), she is truly *Mātā*. The twin principles of *Svāhā* and *Svadhā* are thus fundamental for creation of life and the whole world is comprehended by them as Deva and Pitṛi or Agni and Soma ; and this also is definite that the source of the two manifest principles lies concealed in the unmanifest womb of the Great Mother, Mahā-Devī, Mahā-Māyā.

Vashaṭ-kāra (वषट्कार)—It literally means 'sextuplication'. It was a Vedic conception to explain the manifestation of the five elements of gross-matter from a centre of energy which exercises its dynamic force for the emanation of the *Pañcha Bhūtas* which are collectively symbolised as *Vāk*. The idea is that of a centre surrounded by five circles or sheaths (*Pañcha Kośas*) representing respectively *Ākāśa*, *Vāyu*, *Tejas*, *Āpaḥ*, and *Pṛithivī*. The centre is *Manas*, the principle of Mind, which is the source of manifestation, numerically represented by the number 3, because the three Devas—Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra all abide in it as three forces of *sthiti*, *gati* and *āgati*. The *Manas* creates by the power of *Prāṇa* and the *Pañcha Bhūtas*. Both *Prāṇa* and *Pañcha Bhūtas* make up an aggregate of six (*shaṭ*), and their unfoldment is literally called *shaṭ-kāra* (sextuplication). Each emanation of a material element is considered as a *stoma*, or in the words of the Gītā a *Kūṭa* or *Kshara* ; each is brought into existence by the dynamic force of *Prāṇa* defined as *Kūṭastha Akshara* ('क्षरः सर्वाणि भुतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते' Gītā). In the Vedic *Stoma-Vidyā*, this manifestation of matter or *Pañcha Bhūtas* from the unmanifest centre of Mind with the dynamic power of *Prāṇa* is represented as 3:9:15:21:27:33. Here 3 is the symbol of *Manas*, *Hṛidaya*, *Tryakshara Deva* (*Brahmā + Vishṇu + Maheśa*), *Avyaya* or *Kūṭastha Prāṇa*. 9 (3 + 6) is called the *Tri-vṛit Stoma*, and is the symbol of *Ākāśa*. 15 (3 + 6 + 6) is called the *Pañchadaśa Stoma*, and is the symbol of *Vāyu*. 21 (3 + 6 + 6 + 6) is called the *Eka-viṁśa Stoma* and is the symbol of *Tejas*, i. e. Sūrya or Agni. 27 (3 + 6 + 6 + 6 + 6) is *Tri-ṇava* or *Sapta-viṁśa stoma* as the symbol of *Āpaḥ* or *Jala*. 33(3 + 6 + 6 + 6 + 6 + 6) is called *Traystriṁśa stoma* as the symbol of *Prithivī*, the last and the grossest of the Pañcha Bhūtas. This was the ancient *Vashaṭ-Kāra Vidyā* which in the Vedas is identified with Indra (cf. इन्द्राय वौषट्) as *Mahā-deva* and here with the *Mahādevī*, the Great Goddess.

Svarātmikā (स्वरात्मिका)—The Goddess as *Vāk* manifests herself as the five vowels अ, इ, उ, ऋ, ऌ, symbolising five *Devas* (Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva, Agni, Soma respectively) and five *Bhūtas* (Ākāśa Vāyu, Agni, Jala, Prithivī respectively).

Sudhā (सुधा)—This was the ancient doctrine of *Amṛita*, which signified immortality or the transcendent divine principle unconditioned by time and space. Its opposite is *Mṛityu* representing divine Power in manifestation or conditioned by time and space. Both *Amṛita* and *Mṛityu* are the forms of the Great Goddess.

Tridhā Mātrā (त्रिधा मात्रा)—It refers to the doctrine of trinity or the basic triad of creation symbolised as the three *mātrās* of *Praṇava* or *Oṁkāra*, as expounded in the Māṇḍūkya Upanishad with reference to the three states of consciousness, three worlds, and three Persons, etc..

Ardha-mātrā (अर्धमात्रा)—This refers to the Vedic doctrine of the Two Halves, namely. *Parārdha* and *Avarārdha*. The transcendent Half (*Parārdha*) is beyond modification, the lower Half (*Avarārdha*) is modified as cosmos ('अर्धेन विश्वं भुवनं जजान यदस्यार्द्धं क्व तद्बभूव', AV. 10.8.7). The *Parārdha* is also referred to as *A-mātrā*, that is untouched by *mātrā* or measure, whereas the cosmos is measured out (*Vi-māna*) into three-fold categories of *Trika* or *Tri-mātrā*. Both *A-mātrā* and *Tri-mātrā* are forms of *Mahādevī*.

Sāvitrī (सावित्री)—Sāvitrī is the power of Savitā (सविता), the impelling force behind creation, the two signifying Śakti and Śiva respectively. Wherever there is Savitā, there is Sāvitrī and vice versa. In the Kaushītakī Upanishad the doctrine of Savitā and Sāvitrī is elaborated mentioning twelve pairs, e. g. Mind is Savitā, Matter Sāvitrī (मनः सविता, वाक् सावित्री)

etc.. In fact Sāvitrī as Power sustains and renovates God Savitā, as in the story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān, where Satyavān is Sūrya (i. e. Satyanārāyaṇa) and is subject to a life cycle through annual resurrection by the power of Sāvitrī. Sūrya is Mahādeva and Sāvitrī is Mahādevī.

Mahā-vidyā (महाविद्या)—Here is a string of five epithets of the Great Goddess who is creating out of Her person this five-fold manifestation symbolised as *Pañcha-pura, Pañcha-jana, Pañcha-kosha, Pañcha-bhūta*, etc.. The dictum is 'पाङ्क्तं वा इदं सर्वम्,' the cosmos is a Pentad. The five *puras* (cities) or their presiding deities are mentioned through a symbolical terminology as follows :—

१. महाविद्या — स्वयंभू — आकाश
२. महामाया — परमेष्ठी — वायु
३. महामेधा — सूर्य — तेजस् or अग्नि
४. महास्मृति — चन्द्रमा — जल
५. महामोहा — पृथिवी — पृथिवी

Mahādevī-Mahāsurī (महादेवी-महासुरी)—The dual conception of *Deva* and *Asura* is invoked here as existing together in the person of the Great Goddess. When Prajāpati created the Devas the principles of *Jyotiḥ*, *Amṛita* and *Satya* emanated from them. When he created the Asuras, *Tamas*, *Mṛityu* and *Anṛita* came out of them. These two opposite principles have their source in the Great Goddess. It is important that the Purāṇa-writer refers to Her as *Mahāsurī* with the same courage as *Mahādevī*, implying that the power that is in the Asuras is also a form of the Goddess.

Kālarātri (कालरात्रि)—Here is a reference to three Nights or Darknesses. This doctrine was related to the Vedic doctrine of three lights ('त्रीणि ज्योतींषि,' Yajurveda 8.36). The three Lights of creation are mind, life and matter (*Manas, Prāṇa, Vāk*) and so are the three Nights, namely, the triple source from which three Lights emanate. Here *Mahārātri* refers to the dark source of Mind, *Kālarātri* to that of Prāṇa and *Mohārātri* to that of the Pañcha Bhūta. *Rātri* is the principle of darkness or absorption of all light ('जगतो निवेशिनी' Ṛig., I. 35.1). *Rātri* is the transcendent mother concealing in her womb all manifest forms. The entire conception of *Devī-Vidyā* is related to the principle of *Rātri*, i. e. Primeval Darkness, and the festival in Her honour is celebrated as a *Navarātra* session.

Saumyā (सौम्या) *and Ghorā* (घोरा)—These two epithets relate to the two forms of Agni called *ghora* and *aghora*. The terrific form (*ghora*) is Rudra or Bhairava and the auspicious form (*a-ghora*) is Śiva or Soma. Agni without Soma is terrific but with Soma auspicious. Both the forms inhere in the same Primeval Goddess. This refers to the ancient doctrine of Agni and Soma, the two together described as *Eka-yoni*, that is, having a common womb.

Parāparāṇāṁ Paramā (परापराणां परमा)—The meaning is obvious, but the reference is to the Vedic doctrine of *Para* and *Avara* (परावरविद्या, Ṛig. I. 164. 17-19).

Sad-Asad (सदसद्)—The Goddess is the source of both the existent and the non-existent. It is a reference to the Vedic doctrine of *Sad-asad-vāda* referred to in the Nāsadīya Sūkta (Ṛig. I. 129-1). *Sat* is the material world and *A-sat* signifies *Prāṇa* as explained in the Śatapatha Br. 6.1.1.1.

Thus invoked the Great Goddess who existed as *Nidrā* in the body of Vishṇu left him and exercised her infatuation on the minds of the two Demons, who offered to give a boon to Vishṇu who proposed that they should both be killed by Him. This being granted, Vishṇu placed them on His thigh in the midst of the Ocean and did short work of them. The meaning is clear, namely that Vishṇu, as the supreme principle of *Sattva*, compelled both *Rajas* and *Tamas* to submit to His ordinance. This was made possible only by evolving a stable centre in the midst of the Primeval Waters which stand for chaos.

The Madhyama-Charitra

The next phase of the *Daivāsuram* conflict is the subject of the *Madhyama-charitra* (मध्यम-चरित्र) of the Goddess. It is conceied of as a battle between Mahishāsura, the king of the demons, and Indra, the king of the gods. The battte is said to have raged for a hundred years which is the full span of human life. This battle is incessant. The crux of the problem is that by overpowering the divine army, Mahishāsura becomes Indra. This is the biggest tragedy that the throne of Heaven should fall into the hands of Mahisha. It implies the total negation of the divine order.

The Heaven or the *Dyuloka* is the region of *Vijñāna* or pure consciousness presided over by Indra or Sūrya who is the symbol of supreme Light, and of Brahmā himself. It becomes tragic when consciousness is clouded by gloom or delusion in the form of an Asura. The conception of Mahisha circling round Heaven with an eye to penetrate into it was formulated already in the Ṛigveda—'अन्तश्चरति रोचना अस्य प्राणादपानति । व्यख्यन् महिषो दिवम् ॥' (X. 181. 2).

The context is that Sūrya as the spotted Bull stands in Heaven. A ray of his light (*rochanā*) has entered every one and is flickering there in the form of Prāṇa and Apāna, its anode and cathode. Mahisha casts a greedy eye on this Heavenly order brought to the level of the earth, and the conflict ensues. So long as Indra is powerful, he cannot permit Vṛitra or Mahisha to intrude into his region. This is the kernel on which the author of the Saptaśatī has elaborated his theme of a grand conflict between the powers of light, retreating for a time against the powers of darkness, getting ascendant for a while but finally broken with the assistance of the higher divine principle symbolised as the Goddess killing the Buffalo Demon-Mahishāsura. Indra must be rehabilitated to rule in Heaven, and Mahisha must be compelled to offer submission. In order to retrieve the eclipsed fortune of the Heavenly kingdom Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva and all the other Gods contributed their glorious essence (तेजोंश). which took the form of a cosmic Woman as Mahādevī.

Two questions may be posed here. Firstly why should divine power assume the form of a Woman, and what is the significance of the name Mahisha. The answer is that Mahisha is the demon of the region called *Mahat* or *Parameshṭhī* symbolised as the Waters or the Ocean (*Āpaḥ*, *Samudra*). That is the region also referred to as *Mahān Ātmā* which is referred to in the Kaṭhopanishad, and is beyond the sphere of the Buddhi or Sūrya ('बुद्धेरात्मा महान् परः). This *Mahat* overcome by āsuric darkness is Mahisha. In Vedic symbolism Bull represents Sūrya and Buffalo the dark regions of Varuṇa or the waters of Parameshṭhī. The Bull is white and the Buffalo is dark. The Bull loves heat and the Buffalo loves water. This was a sufficient ground for the choice of these two symbols of Sūrya-Indra and Varuṇa. In the Ṛigveda the Buffalo is known as *Gaura* (*Bos.-Gaurus*). And the symbolism is further pursued by referring to the principle of *Vāk* in *Parameshṭhī*, as *Gaurī* standing in the midst of Waters ('गौरी मिमाय सलिलानि तक्षती,' Ṛig. I. 164. 41)

As pointed out above the region of *Parameshṭhī* is the same as *Mahat* or *Virāj*, the universal mother-principle in whose womb the universe exists in a nascent form. She is the same as *Mahad-Brahma* or *Yoni*, in which the self-existent Creator deposits His seed ('मम योनिर्महद्ब्रह्म तस्मिन् गर्भं दधाम्यहम्,' Gītā). It is therefore the latent power of motherhood that carries forward the creative possibilities in the region of *Mahat* or the Universal. It is she that is the Great Goddess, *Mahādevī*, in whose body all the Gods reside in a latent form. They can become effective only through her. The Gods are the Angels of light, but prior to manifest creation they exist only in a potential form. We might usefully compare these two ideas with the dark regions of the subconscious mind from which illumined regions of consciousness, i. e. the bright Devas originate. In a like manner it is said that Sūrya who is *Viśva-devya*, the composite form of all Gods, was first concealed within the dark Ocean from where it has become manifest (Rig. X. 72. 7). In fact Sūrya is that pillar of light which became visible as the form of Devī and which fills the entire space between

Heaven and Earth. With the help of Devī, the kingdom of Heaven is restored and Mahisha is slain. The *Devī-charitra* is spoken of as *Rātri-charitra* where *Rātri* is the symbol of the womb of universal Waters in which all the worlds exist in their undifferentiated condition. There would be no conflict if Mahisha confined himself to his own region of *Mahat* where the Devas and Asuras are alike accommodated by the Great Mother, who is both *Mahādevī* and *Mahāsurī*, but the conflict ensues as the Mahisha flouts Indra in the region of *Vijñāna* or conscious mind.

The Uttara-Charitra

The story in the *Uttara-charitra* (उत्तरचरित्र) includes an account of a threefold battle between Durgā and (1) Śumbha-Niśumbha, (2) Chaṇḍa-Muṇḍa and (3) Raktabīja. The plot of the Saptaśatī has been conceived in three parts with a purpose, namely, the पूर्वचरित्र corresponds to the plane of *sattva* or *manas*, the मध्यमचरित्र to the plane of *rajas* or *prāṇa*, and the उत्तरचरित्र to the plane of *tamas* or *Bhūtas*. The Āsuric darkness exists in the Psychic Man, the Vital Man and the Physical Man. The conflict with Madhu-Kaiṭabha refers to the first, that with Mahisha to the second, and that with Śumbha-Niśumbha etc. to the third. But the last or the Physical body is the real arena of the battle, and victory for the divine powers must be decided in actual life on the plane of matter in which both the *manas* and *prāṇa* take part with the physical sense-organs of *jñāna* and *karma*, i.e. Knowledge and Action. It means that life in the physical body is the result of the integration of all the three constituents of human personality. Mere thought is not enough. In order to be effective, an idea must become concrete on the plane of matter through action. This is why in the final victory the Devī has to face three combatants, each of whom must be purged of his Āsuric nature and be sublimated to the divine plane.

The battle with Śumbha and Niśumbha represents the psychological complex, that with Chaṇḍa-Muṇḍa the doubts or fluctuations in deciding about actions. On both these planes a person is seized with *moha* or mental darkness and vital stupor.

It is for this reason that we have the hostile forces conceived in two pairs, e.g. *Saṁkalpa-vikalpa* in the mind, *Karma-akarma* in the case of action. When a person begins to think he is often assailed with a negative thought which cancels his positive decisions. This is the fight with Śumbha-Niśumbha. Unless the hostile mind is brought under control, the divine mind with its clear decision and directive will cannot prevail. Even when the mind is clear and the right course of action has been determined, the prāṇic energy thwarts the will, and all the divine powers of the mind become befogged and smoky. The clear light of wisdom gets bedimmed. Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa represent the Āsuric nature of prāṇa. Muṇḍa literally is the Head or the Idea and Chaṇḍa is the headless torso wherein most of the organs of action i. e. *karmendriyas* are located which are responsible for the fierceness or impetuousity of action or *Karma.*

When Śumbha-Niśumbha and Chaṇḍa-Muṇḍa are vanquished by the Devī, the Asura Raktabīja comes in the open and throws the most violent challenge with his numerous hosts. The name is significant as referring to the physical body, i. e. the person whose seed or birth is from the blood. Each individual is in a true sense *rakta-bīja* and each drop of this blood is capable of creating similar bodies. This is the moral of the story that the blood of Rakta-bīja does not end by killing one individual, but his race is indefinitely multiplied, as each drop of that blood can be converted into his replica. The Goddess, therefore, is required to lick with her tongue the whole of this bloody race of the hostile Asuras. Figuratively the blood flowing from the team of Rakta-bīja is collected by the Goddess in a bowl of which the contents are drunk by Her. If one drop of that blood falls on the ground, anothor Asura is created. The Earth is the symbol of motherhood (*Prithivī Mātā*) and the objective of the battle is to annihilate the brood of the Asura Rakta-bīja from the face of the earth.

Kālikā and Kauśikī

Two points are specially noteworthy in this portion of the plot. The first is that the Great Goddess incarnating as Pārvatī, Daughter of the Mountain, takes a dip in the river Gaṅgā. As a result the collective power of the several sheaths of Her body, *Pañcha Kośas*, is changed into her double as Kauśikī, and She Herself becomes Kālikā, the Dark one. The meaning of the several symbols, namely the Mountain, Pārvatī, Gaṅgā, Kauśikī and Kālikā should be clearly understood. The Mountain is the body itself as a *Kūṭa* or pile of the gross material elements. His Daughter Pārvatī is identical with what in the Tantras is known as *Kuṇḍalinī*, that is, the vital energy of the psycho-physical man. Pārvatī has the composite form of Śiva, that is, the *Ardha-nārīśvara* form in which the male half is the symbol of *Agni* and the female half that of Soma. Gaṅgā represents the river of Soma taking her birth from the Ocean of Soma in the region of *Parameshṭhī*. By a dip in the Gaṅgā, the Great Goddess bifurcates Her person into *Soma* as Kauśikī and into *Agni* as Kālikā. Kauśikī is Her auspicious or beautiful form (*saumyā*) and Kālī or Kālikā is her terrific and destructive form (*Āgneyī, ghorā tanū*). The colour of *Agni* becomes radiant or white when it is mingled with *Soma*, otherwise *Agni* is black, e. g. so long as there is oil in the wick it emits flame, but when these is no oil, there is no flame and the burning portion of the wick becomes black. Similarly in the bodies of plants and animals, life continues to exist so long as food and water (i, e. *Soma*) is supplied to the digestive fire or physical hunger. When the Asuras saw the beautiful form of Kauśikī, they ran to devour her. But Goddess Kālī with all Her innate ferocity as the Black Destructive Mother who withdraws the whole creation into Her wide gaping mouth, began to devour the Asuras. In this form she is Chāmuṇḍā, the All-consuming Fiery Energy who tramples on the corpse (the symbol of matter without *prāṇa*), whose breasts are dried without motherly compassion, whose body is a skeleton with creeping deadly reptiles. This is eventually the fate of every Asura, the person who believes in the principle of darkness and meets his inevitable destiny of destruction and death. Even the elements are arrayed against him and the fury of nature and man swallows him. The Asura goes down and the Devī triumphs.

Stotras of the Devī-Māhātmya

The essence of the Devī-Māhātmya is found in the several stotras embodied in the text. The first stotra was recited by Brahmā addressing the Devī as the form of *Rātri*, the universal substratum from whose womb the entire creation emanates including both the Devas and the Asuras. She is the Great Mother who controls and regulates both the universal and the individual manifestations. The stotra is comprised of a string of Vedic epithets which have been explained above. The second stotra is recited by the Devas made happy after the death of the Asura Mahisha. It repeats that the whole world is created by the Goddess through Her innate power. She is described as the concrete form of the totality of the celestial and earthly powers (निश्शेषदेवगणशक्तिसमूहमूर्त्तिः). The forces of good are from her form as *Śrī*, and so also the powers of evil are from her as *Alakshmī*. This invokes the Vedic conception stated in the following mantra :—

'रमन्तां पुण्या लक्ष्मीर्या पापीस्ता अनीनशम्' (AV. 7.115.4)

The various faculties of mind and matter originate from Her, e. g. Intelligence (*Buddhi*), Faith (*Śraddhā*) and Modesty (*Lajjā*). The universe is merely one portion of her greatness, and She as the supreme transcendent Power is the unmanifest substratum of all :—

सर्वाश्रयाऽखिलमिदं जगदंशभूत-
मव्याकृता हि परमा प्रकृतिस्त्वमाद्या । (दे० मा०, ४।७)

She takes the form of *Svāhā* for the Gods and *Svadhā* for the Pitṛis. The cosmic knowledge which becomes the mind of the Creator for creating the worlds is verily the Great Goddess conceived of as *Śabda-Brahma* or *Trayī Vidyā*, as *Ṛik*, *Yajus* and *Sāma*. The laws governing the economic life of the society are also rooted in the same Power. All the different branches of knowledge which man has discovered in the past or will discover in the future have their source in the Intellect (*Medhā*). The Female Energy of Vishṇu as *Śrī* and of Śiva as *Gaurī* are but the forms of the same Supreme Goddess.

The metaphysical exposition of the manifold manifestations of the One Supreme Energy or Devī is found in its best poetical form in a rare stotra presenting the invocation of the Goddess by the assembly of the Devas when the Demons Śumbha and Niśumbha followed the death of Mahisha by a fresh demonstration of the Āsuric forces in world-wide riotous disruption. In this stotra the Great Goddess is invoked as *Vishṇu-Māyā* i. e., the Supreme *Śakti* of Bhagavān Vishṇu or Nārāyaṇa. It should be observed here that the Devī conceived of as *Vishṇu-Māyā* is no other than Nārāyaṇī, and the great Bhāgavata teachers who were pledged to the doctrine of an all-comprehensive synthesis of Vedic and Purāṇic thoughts and definitions propounded the essential identity of Kātyāyanī and Nārāyaṇī. There is a reason why the Goddess is called Kātyāyanī. The root meaning of *Kātyāyanī* is supreme mystery. She is essentially *Kati*, How Much, What ? From *Kati* we get *Kātya* and then *Kātyāyana*. These are related to the Vedic symbol *Ka* applied to Prajāpati or the Creator. Everything about Him is a mystery, and the Vedas, therefore, designate Him as *Saṁpraśna* ('तं सम्प्रश्नं भुवना यन्त्यन्या 'Rig. X. 82.3), 'the Great Question'. So is the Supreme Goddess a mystery for ever. Whatever be the name and form, whether Gaurī, Pārvatī, Mahishamardinī, Śrī, Lakshmī, Nārāyaṇī, Vāk, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī Svāhā, Svadhā, etc., all defy the orbit of words and meaning. They belong to a Fraternity of Mysteries (*Kātyāyana. Gotra*). The first dominant manifestation of Vishnu-Māyā is consciousness (*Chetanā*) :

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु चेतनेत्यभिधीयते ।
नमस्तस्यै नमस्तस्यै नमस्तस्यै नमो नमः (दे० मा०, अ० ५)

If only this statement were made about the Devī, everything that need be said should have been exhausted. No other statement is necessary. Everything else is a commentary on this Sūtra. *Chetanā* is the same as *Prāṇa* or *Saṃjñā* of the Purāṇas, or Vedic Saraṇyu, daughter of Tvashṭā, the Creator. This is the same as consciousness or life-principle which is divine and immortal but has entered the mortal beings ('इदं ज्योतिरमृतं मर्त्येषु' Ṛig. VI. 9.4).

The Goddess is the Divine Light that has descended to the plane of matter. Matter is Āsuric or darkness-in-form, and the Goddess rules supreme over all the Asuras. When once the Devī is conceived of as *Chetanā*, all the faculties of the Soul and the forms engendered in matter become identified with Her power. Here ensues a flood of light with scintillating rays from the mind of an inspired poet, thinking of the Goddess as follows :—

1. Vishṇu-māyā (विष्णुमाया) —Vishṇu's Power (*Nārāyaṇī*).
2. Chetanā (चेतना) —Consciousness.
3. Buddhi (बुद्धि) —Intelligence.
4. Nidrā (निद्रा) —Sleep (= Rest).
5. Kshudhā (क्षुधा) —Hunger (= *Aśanāyā* in the Brāhmaṇas).
6. Chhāyā (छाया) —Shadow.
7. Śakti (शक्ति) —Energy.
8. Tṛishṇā (तृष्णा) —Thirst.
9. Kshānti (क्षान्ति) —Patience.
10. Jāti (जाति) —Power of generation.
11. Lajjā (लज्जा) —Modesty.
12. Śānti ((शान्ति) —Peace.
13. Śraddhā (श्रद्धा) —Faith.
14. Kānti (कान्ति) —Beauty.
15. Lakshmī (लक्ष्मी) —Prosperity.
16. Vṛitti (वृत्ति) —Livelihood (= *Vārtā*).
17. Smṛiti (स्मृति) —Memory.
18. Dayā (दया) —Compassion.
19. Tushṭi (तुष्टि) —Contentment.
20. Mātā (माता) —Motherhood.
21. Bhrānti (भ्रान्ति) —Error, Deflection.
22. Vyāpti (व्याप्ति) —All-pervasiveness.
23. Chiti (चिति) —Mind.

The above list of the forms of Devī is illustrative and agreeable to endless elaboration. The Goddess is like the centre and all Her forms are the points of the compass corresponding to a particular view of the seer.

The question may be asked as to the meaning of the formula—'नमस्तस्यै नमस्तस्यै नमस्तस्यै नमो नमः : Why should there be three-fold repetition of *namaḥ* in the beginning and then the two-fold identity in the end? The answer to this significant question is rooted in the Triads of Vedic and Purāṇic symbolism. The Supreme Goddess, Mahādevī or the Great Mother, *Mahī Mātā*, is one in her undifferentiated form, but for the sake of creation the One Mother becomes *Three Mothers* to which reference is often found in the Ṛigveda (I. 164.10). Three Mothers are the same as Ambā, Ambikā and Ambālikā—and their composite form gives birth to the God Tryambaka, which is the name of Agni or Rudra. The first Mother gives birth to the principle of Mind (*Manaḥ*), the second Mother to that of Life (*Prāṇa*) the third Mother to that of Matter (*Vāk = Pañcha bhūtas*). Obeisance is made to each one of these Mothers. It is to propitiate three principles of Motherhood which give birth to the three-fold creation on the planes of Matter, Mind and Life. These three together become manifest as the three Fires or three Energies. Each individual is the composite form of this triple Energy also called Vaiśvānara ('सोऽयं वैश्वानरो योऽयमन्तः पुरुषे'). The Vedic and the Purāṇic triads are based on the trinitarian constitution of the cosmos expressed in a number of symbolical forms as त्रिवेद, त्रिमात्रा, अग्नित्रेता, त्रयो लोकाः, त्रीणि ज्योतींषि, त्रीणि छन्दांसि, त्रयः सुपर्णाः etc. The Principle of *namaskāra* points to the homage paid by the Father-principle to the Mother-principle, because she after receiving the seed creates the manifest forms. The omniform universe is the outcome of the mysterious source that is the mother's womb, to which infinite divinity has confided all the secrets and miraculous powers. Each mother, whether of plants, animals or men is the type of the archetypal Mother Goddess, Mahā Devī, Mahī Mātā. It is She who creates the Bhūtas or material forms, namely the Asuras, and therefore the responsibility to keep them under control belongs to Her.

The last formula नमो नमः points to the identity of both the Father-principle and the Mother-principle, the universal Parents whose compassion has created the universe called *Viśvarūpya*

(Ṛig. I. 164.9) or the *Kāmapra Yajña*, Wish-fulfilling Sacrifice. *Namaḥ namaḥ* is an expression of universal gratefulness, thanks-giving, or adoration at the feet of the two Parents (cf. 'जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ,' Kālidāsa).

Devī-Māhātmya and Sāvarṇi Manu

The theme of the *Devī-māhātmya* is purposely placed in the time of Sāvarṇi Manu, the eighth of the fourteen Manus. The reason is that in the revolving wheel of cosmic time, *Mahākāla*, there are thirty *Manvantaras*, fourteen belonging to the Day of Brahmā, and fourteen to the Night, and one each to the Dusk-time *Sandhyā-Kāla*. Amongst the fourteen in day, the first group of the seven belongs to the Fore-noon and the second to the After-noon. Here again is the same duality of light and darkness. Although light and darkness co-exist as *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, still in the forenoon light predominates, and in the afternoon darkness. The pair of *aho-rātra* symbolises the eternal pair of *Deva* and *Devī*, namely the Supreme God and the Supreme Goddess. We might remember the following pairs:—

देव—देवी
देवाः — असुराः
अहः—रात्रि
पूर्वाह्ण—अपराह्ण
सूर्य— सवर्णा
ज्योतिः—तमः
आतप—छाया
स्वायम्भुवादि सप्त मनु—सावर्ण्यादि सप्त मनु

Both Svāyambhuva Manu and Sāvarṇi Manu are the scions of the Great Self-existent *Purusha*, and represent the principles of light and darkness as manifesting in creation, i. e. in the revolving Wheel of Time, as its two halves. This Time-Wheel is the *Sudarśana Chakra* of Vishṇu whose *Māyā* is the Devī.

VERBAL SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE DURGĀ-SAPTA-ŚATĪ AND THE DEVĪ-BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS BEARING ON THEIR DATE

BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA

[अस्मिल्लेखे दुर्गासप्तशत्या देवीभागवतपुराणस्य च परस्परं पाठादिसादृश्यं विषयवर्णनादिभेदं चाश्रित्य तयोः रचनाकालसम्बन्धी विचारः प्रस्तूयते। वर्त्तते तत्रोभयोरेव ग्रन्थयोः सुरथमधुकैटभमहिषवधादिप्रकरणेषु पाठसादृश्यबाहुल्यम्। न केवलं तत्र मात्रसादृश्यमेव, अपितु शब्दवाक्यादिसादृश्यमपि बहुत्र प्राप्यते। अनेन प्रतीयते यदनयोरेको ग्रन्थोऽन्यस्यानुकरणम्। अथवा, उभयोरेव ग्रन्थयोः कश्चित् तृतीयो ग्रन्थ आधाररूपेणावर्त्तत।

अनयोः ग्रन्थयो विषयप्रतिपादने किंचिद् वैषम्यमपि वर्त्तते। दुर्गासप्तशत्यां देवी 'विष्णुमाया' इत्युच्यते, देवीभागवते तु विष्णोर्गौणं स्थानं वर्त्तते। दुर्गासप्तशत्यां कथा सुसंगता श्लिष्टा च वर्त्तते, देवीभागवते तु केचिदंशाः शिथिला असंगताश्च वर्त्तन्ते। देवीभागवतसमये मांसाहारस्याप्रचारोऽभवत्, पार्ष्णिग्राह-बुम्बारवादयश्च केचित् शब्दाः स्वप्राचीनार्थं त्यक्त्वा नूतनार्थं लब्धवन्तः, मीमांसा शास्त्रं वेदान्तशास्त्राद् भिन्नतां प्राप्य कर्ममीमांसात्वं प्राप। अतो ज्ञायते देवीभागवतमेव दुर्गासप्तशत्याः परवर्त्ती ग्रन्थः, अनुमानतश्चायं पश्चिमभारते द्वादश्यां शताब्द्यां रचित आसीत्।]

The *Devī-bhāgavata-purāṇa* is an extensive work containing not only an account of the exploits of Devī Bhagavatī but also the philosophy that underlies her worship. Being the Supreme Embodiment of Śakti, through which alone even Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva can perform their functions, She is naturally the Supreme Deity that one must adore. It is through Her that this universe or rather so many universes, about which the ordinary mortal knows nothing, are regulated. She is sometimes called the *paramā prakṛti*, the eternal spouse of Brahmā. It is at His desire that She creates the world (5.16. 35-38). But equally emphatic in the Purāṇa is the declaration that there is no real distinction between Her and Para Brahma. Though One without a Second, She "becomes transformed as the Many for purposes of creation" and becomes known by various names as a result of the functions She performs (3.6. 1-81).

Equally profound is the philosophy of the *Durgā-sapta-śatī.* But while the *Devī-bhāgavata* would sometimes, in its desire to impress on the reader the greatness of Śakti, disparage the worship of other deities, the *Saptaśatī* steers clear of all such controversies. The prayers offered are for the good of all. The Devī is *Sarva-maṅgala-māṅgalyā.* Her heart is full of compassion even for those who oppose Her.

The *Saptaśatī* confines itself to three episodes, though it alludes to many others towards the end. The *Devī-bhāgavata* also gives prominence to the three exploits narrated in the *Saptaśatī,* but the total number of pages it devotes to other topics, too, is fairly large. In this paper we shall, besides offering some suggestions based on the internal evidence of the *Devī-bhāgavata,* note striking verbal similarities between the *Saptaśatī* and the *Purāṇa,* hoping thereby to throw some light on the dates of their composition. We shall begin with the episode of the ruler Suratha, who later on has to become Sāvarṇi Manu, and the Vaiśya Samādhi, and then go on to the other episodes in the order adopted by the *Saptaśatī,* utilising for our purpose the edition of the *Devī-bhāgavata* recently issued and distributed free by Seth Mansukh Rai Mor, and the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition of the Durgāsaptaśatī with the commentaries of Bhāskararāya, Nāgojibhaṭṭa Caturbhujadhara, Bhāgīratha, Rājārāma Mahulla and Śāntanu.

VERBAL SIMILARITY

1. *Suratha Samādhi Episode* (दुर्गासप्तशती, अ० १; देवीभागवत, स्कन्ध ५, अ० ३२)

दुर्गासप्तशती—

स्वारोचिषेऽन्तरे पूर्वं चैत्रवंशसमुद्भवः ।
सुरथो नाम राजाऽभूत् समस्ते क्षितिमण्डले ॥ ३ ॥

देवीभागवत—

स्वारोचिषेऽन्तरे पूर्वं सुरथो नाम पार्थिवः ।
बभूव परमोदारः प्रजापालनतत्परः ॥ (५)

दुर्गासप्तशती—

तस्य पालयतः सम्यक् प्रजाः पुत्रानिवौरसान् ।
बभूवुः शत्रवो भूपाः कोलाविध्वंसिनस्तदा ॥ ४ ॥

देवीभागवत—

एवं पालयतो राज्यं म्लेच्छाः पर्वतवासिनः ॥ (७ उ.)
कोलाविध्वंसिनः प्राप्ताः पृथ्वीग्रहणतत्पराः ॥ (९ पू.)

दुर्गासप्तशती—

तस्य तैरभवद् युद्धमतिप्रबलदण्डिनः ।
न्यूनैरपि स तैर्युद्धे कोलाविध्वंसिभिर्जितः ॥ ५ ॥

देवीभागवत—

युद्धं समभवद् घोरं तस्य तैरतिदारुणैः ॥
म्लेच्छानां तु बलं स्वल्पं राज्ञस्तद्बलमद्भुतम् ॥ (१०)
तथापि तैर्जितो युद्धे दैवाद् राजा पराजितः ॥ (११ पू.)

दुर्गासप्तशती—

एकाकी हयमारुह्य जगाम गहनं वनम् ॥ ८ उ. ॥

देवीभागवत—

एकाकी हयमारुह्य निर्जगाम पुरात् ततः ॥ (१९ उ.)
असहायोऽथ निर्गत्य गहनं वनमाश्रितः ॥ (२० पू.)

दुर्गासप्तशती—

स तत्राश्रममद्राक्षीद् द्विजवर्यस्य मेधसः ।
प्रशान्तश्वापदाकीर्णं मुनिशिष्योपशोभितम् ॥ ९ ॥

देवीभागवत—

योजनत्रयमात्रे तु मुनेराश्रममुत्तमम् ॥
ज्ञात्वा जगाम भूपालस्तापसस्य सुमेधसः ॥ (२१)

निर्वैरश्वापदाकीर्णं कोकिलारावमण्डितम् ॥ (२२ उ.)
शिष्याध्ययनशब्दाढ्यं मृगयूथशतावृतम् ॥ (२३ पू.)

दुर्गासप्तशती——

सोऽचिन्तयत् तदा तत्र ममत्वाकृष्टचेतनः ।
मत्पूर्वैः पालितं पूर्वं मया हीनं पुरं हि तत् ॥ ११ ॥
मद्भृत्यैस्तैरसद्वृत्तैर्धर्मतः पाल्यते न वा ।
न जाने स प्रधानो मे शूरहस्ती सदामदः ॥ १२ ॥
मम वैरिवशं यातः कान् भोगानुपलप्स्यते ।
ये ममानुगता नित्यं प्रसादधनभोजनैः ॥ १३ ॥
अनुवृत्तिं ध्रुवं तेऽद्य कुर्वन्त्यन्यमहीभृताम् ।
असम्यग्व्ययशीलैस्तैः कुर्वद्भिः सततं व्ययम् ॥ १४ ॥
संचितः सोऽतिदुःखेन क्षयं कोशो गमिष्यति ॥ १५ पू. ॥

देवीभागवत——

चिन्तयामास चिन्तार्त्तो गृह एव गताशयः ॥ (४० उ.)
सम्पीडिताः स्युर्लोकास्तैर्दुराचारैर्गतत्रपैः ॥ (४१ उ.)
गजाश्च तुरगाः सर्वे दुर्बला भक्ष्यवर्जिताः ।
जाताः स्युर्नात्र संदेहः शत्रुणा परिपीडिताः ॥ (४२)
सेवका मम सर्वे ते शत्रूणां वशवर्तिनः ।
दुःखिता एव जाताः स्युः पालिता ये मया पुरा ॥ (४३)
धनं मे सुदुराचारैरसद्व्ययपरैः परैः ।
द्यूतासवभुजिष्यादिस्थाने स्यात् प्रापितं किल ॥ ४४ ॥
कोशक्षयं करिष्यन्ति व्यसनैः पापबुद्धयः । (४५ पू.)

दुर्गासप्तशती——

तत्र विप्राश्रमाभ्यासे वैश्यमेकं ददर्श सः ।
स पृष्टस्तेन कस्त्वं भो हेतुश्चागमनेऽत्र कः ॥ १६ ॥

देवीभागवत——

तदाऽऽजगाम वैश्यस्तु कश्चिदार्त्तिपरस्तथा ॥ (४६ उ.)
पप्रच्छ तं नृपः कोऽसि कुत एवागतो वनम् ॥ (४७)

दुर्गासप्तशती––

वैश्य उवाच—

समाधिर्नाम वैश्योऽहमुत्पन्नो धनिनां कुले ॥ १८ उ. ॥
पुत्रदारैर्निरस्तश्च धनलोभादसाधुभिः ।
विहीनः स्वजनैर्दारैः पुत्रैरादाय मे धनम् ॥ १९ ॥
वनमभ्यागतो दुःखी निरस्तश्चाप्तबन्धुभिः ।
सोऽहं न वेद्मि पुत्राणां कुशलाकुशलात्मिकाम् ॥ २० ॥
प्रवृत्तिं स्वजनानां च दाराणां चात्र संस्थितः । २१ पू. ।

देवीभागवत––

वैश्य उवाच—

मित्राहं वैश्यजातीयः समाधिर्नाम विश्रुतः । (५० पू.)
पुत्रदारैर्निरस्तोऽहं धनलुब्धैरसाधुभिः । (५१ पू.)
स्वजनेन च संत्यक्तः प्राप्तोऽस्मि वनमाशु वै ॥ (५१)
कुटुम्बं मे निरालम्बं मया हीनं सुदुःखितम् । (५५ पू.)
स्वस्थं न मन्मनो राजन् गृहचिन्ताकुलं भृशम् (५७ उ.)

दुर्गासप्तशती––

राजोवाच—

यैर्निरस्तो भवाँल्लुब्धैः पुत्रदारादिभिर्धनैः ।
तेषु किं भवतः स्नेहमनुबध्नाति मानसम् ॥ २२ ॥

देवीभागवत––

राजोवाच

यैर्निरस्तोऽसि पुत्राद्यैरसद्वृत्तैः सुबालिशैः
तान् दृष्ट्वा किं सुखं तेऽद्य भविष्यति महामते ॥ (५८)

दुर्गासप्तशती––

ततस्तौ सहितौ विप्र तं मुनिं समुपस्थितौ ।
समाधिर्नाम वैश्योऽसौ स च पार्थिवसत्तमः ॥ २७ ॥

देवीभागवत—

इति कृत्वा मतिं तौ तु राजा वैश्यश्च जग्मतुः ।
मुनिं तौ विनयोपेतौ ... ... ॥ ६२ ॥

दुर्गासप्तशती—

राजोवाच—

ममत्वं गतराज्यस्य राज्याङ्गेष्वखिलेष्वपि ।
जानतोऽपि यथाऽज्ञस्य किमेतन्मुनिसत्तम ॥ ३० ॥

देवीभागवत—(अ० ३३)

हया मे दुर्बलाः स्युः किं गजाः शत्रुवलं गताः ॥ (२ उ.)
भ्रमोऽयमिति जानामि तथापि मम मानसः ॥ (६ उ.)
मोहो नैवापसरति किं तत्कारणमद्भुतम् (७ पू.)

दुर्गासप्तशती—

ऋषि उवाच—

ज्ञानिनामपि चेतांसि देवी भगवती हि सा ।
बलादाकृष्य मोहाय महामाया प्रयच्छति ॥ ४२ ॥
तया विसृज्यते विश्वं त्रैलोक्यं स चराचरम् ।
सैषा प्रसन्ना वरदा नृणां भवति मुक्तये ॥ ४३ ॥
सा विद्या परमा मुक्तेर्हेतुभूता सनातनी ।
संसारबन्धहेतुश्च सैव सर्वेश्वरेश्वरी ॥ ४४ ॥
नित्यैव सा जगन्मूर्तिस्तया सर्वमिदं ततम् । ४७ पू. ।

देवीभागवत—

ऋषि उवाच—

ज्ञानिनामपि चेतांसि मोहयत्यनिशं हि सा । (१४ पू.)
ज्ञानिनामपि चेतांसि परमा प्रकृतिः किल ॥ (५१ उ.)
बलादाकृष्य मोहाय प्रयच्छति महीपते ।
यया व्याप्तमिदं सर्वं भगवत्या चराचरम् ॥ ५२ ॥

मोहदा ज्ञानदा सैव बन्धमोक्षप्रदा सदा। (५३ पू.)
नित्यैव सा परा देवी कारणानां च कारणम्। (५५ पू.)

दुर्गासप्तशती (अ० १३)—
एवंप्रभावा सा देवी ययेदं धार्यते जगत् ॥ १ उ० ॥

देवीभागवत (अ० ३५)
एवंप्रभावा सा देवी भक्तानामभयप्रदा ॥ (४९ उ०)

Even a cursory comparison of the passages quoted above from the *Saptaśatī* and the *Purāṇa* should be enough to convince one that either the *Purāṇa* is indebted to the *Saptaśatī* or *vice versa*. Or it might be that both the books have a common source, for the resemblance between them extends not only to thought but even to words, phrases and sometimes even complete sentences.

But it is not on the basis of similarities alone that we can decide their comparative antiquity. Their differences in the treatment of the episode are equally important. The *Saptaśatī* begins and ends with the story of Suratha. In the *Purāṇa*, it plays, comparatively speaking, a subsidiary role, though it covers no less than four chapters, of which two can be treated as lengthy digressions. With a view to proving that it is not Suratha and the Vaiśya Samādhi alone who are under the influence of Mahāmāyā but even the great gods, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, it brings in the story of their rivalry in the 33rd chapter. They quarrel about their respective greatness, and when an immense Śivaliṅga appears on the scene and they are asked by a voice from the air to resolve their dispute by reaching one of its extremities, the lower or the upper, Brahmā in his flight upwards gets hold of a *ketakī* flower which had dropped from the head of the Śivaliṅga and falsely claims to have reached the upper end. Similarly, Viṣṇu always resorted to lies, when he had to deal with *daityas* and gave up perforce all luxury and even comfort in the fight against them. All this could, according to our *Purāṇa*, be ascribed to the influence of Mahāmāyā who swayed their hearts and directed their actions. The *Saptaśatī* also believes in the greatness of Bhagavatī. But even when assigning to Her the role of One who could liberate as well as bind, it calls Her expressly the *mahāmāyā* of Hari (1.41) and also *Bhagavad-Viṣṇu-māyā*, thereby avoiding all idea of any conflict between the worship of the two deities. The 34th chapter of the *Purāṇa* gives details of the way Bhagavatī should be worshipped, and it is only in the next chapter that it takes up the interrupted story once again. In its 16th verse which speaks of Suratha and Samādhi as engaged in the recitation of the *caritra-traya,* we have an important clue regarding the relationship between the *Saptaśatī* and the *Purāṇa.* But of this anon.

2. *Madhu-Kaiṭabha Episode*

The second episode that we take up is the slaying of Madhu and Kaiṭabha by Viṣṇu, after *Yoganidrā* had freed him from Her influence. Here also we first note down the similarities.

दुर्गासप्तशती (प्रथम अध्याय)

योगनिद्रां यदा विष्णुर्जगत्येकार्णवीकृते ।
आस्तीर्य शेषमभजत्कल्पान्ते भगवान्प्रभुः ॥ ४९ ॥
तदा द्वावसुरौ घोरौ विख्यातौ मधुकैटभौ ।
विष्णुकर्णमलोद्भूतौ हन्तुं ब्रह्माणमुद्यतौ ॥ ५० ॥
दृष्ट्वा तावसुरौ घोरौ प्रसुप्तं च जनार्दनम् ॥ ५१ ॥
तुष्टाव योगनिद्रां तामेकाग्रहृदयस्थितः ।
विबोधनार्थाय हरेर्हरिनेत्रकृतालयाम् ॥ ५२ ॥
एवं स्तुता तदा देवी तामसी तत्र वेधसा ।
विष्णोः प्रबोधनार्थाय निहन्तुं मधुकैटभौ ॥ ६८ ॥
समुत्थाय ततस्ताभ्यां युयुधे भगवान् हरिः ।
पञ्चवर्षसहस्राणि बाहुप्रहरणो विभुः ॥ ७२ ॥
तावप्यतिबलोन्मत्तौ महामायाविमोहितौ ।
उक्तवन्तौ वरोऽस्मत्तो व्रियतामिति केशवम् ॥ ७३ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच–

भवेतामद्य मे तुष्टौ मम वध्यावुभावपि ।
किमन्येन वरेणात्र एतावद्धि वृतं मया ॥ ७४ ॥
वञ्चिताभ्यामिति तदा सर्वमापोमयं जगत् ।
विलोक्य ताभ्यां गदितो भगवान् कमलेक्षणः ॥ ७५ ॥
आवां जहि न यत्रोर्वी सलिलेन परिप्लुता ॥ ७६ ॥
तथेत्युक्त्वा भगवता शङ्खचक्रगदाभृता ।
कृत्वा चक्रेण वै छिन्ने जघने शिरसी तयोः ॥ ७७ ॥

देवीभागवतपुराण (प्रथम स्कन्ध)

अ० ६

पुरा चैकार्णवे जाते विलीने भुवनत्रये ।
शेषपर्यङ्कसुप्ते च देवदेवे जनार्दने ॥ २० ॥
विष्णुकर्णमलोद्भूतौ दानवौ मधुकैटभौ ।
महाबलौ च तौ दैत्यौ विवृद्धौ सागरे जले ॥ २१ ॥

अ० ७

स्तौम्यद्य महानिद्रां यथा मुक्तो जनार्दनः ।
घटयिष्यति युद्धे च वासुदेवः सनातनः ॥ २५ ॥
इति कृत्वा मतिं ब्रह्मा पद्मनालस्थितस्तदा ।
तुष्टाव योगनिद्रां तां विष्णोरङ्गेषु संस्थिताम्॥ २६ ॥
एवं स्तुता तदा देवी तामसी तत्र वेधसा ।
निःसृत्य हरिदेहात्तु संस्थिता पार्श्वतस्तदा ॥ ४८ ॥
त्यक्त्वांगानि च सर्वाणि विष्णोरतुलतेजसः ।
निर्गता योगनिद्रा सा नाशाय च तयोस्तदा ॥ ४९ ॥

अ० ९

पञ्चवर्षसहस्राणि यदा जातानि युद्ध्यता ।
हरिणा चिन्तितं तत्र कारणं मरणे तयोः ॥ १९ ॥

वीक्षमाणौ महामायां जगदानन्दकारिणीम् ।
तमूचतुश्च कामार्तौ विष्णुं कमललोचनौ ॥ ६९ ॥
प्रार्थय त्वं हृषीकेश मनोभिलषितं वरम् ॥ ७१ ॥
तयोस्तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा प्रत्युवाच जनार्दनः ।
भवेतामद्य मे तुष्टौ मम वध्यावुभावपि ॥ ७२ ॥
तच्छ्रुत्वा वचनं विष्णोर्दानवावतिविस्मितौ ।
वञ्चिताविति मन्वानौ तस्थतुः शोकसंयुतौ ॥ ७३ ॥
विचार्य मनसा तौ तु दानवौ विष्णुमूचतुः ।
प्रेक्ष्य जलमयं सर्वं भूमिं स्थलविवर्जिताम् ॥ ७४ ॥
निर्जले विपुले देशे हनस्व मधुसूदन ॥ ७६ ॥
रथाङ्गेन तदा भिन्ने विष्णुना प्रभविष्णुना ।
जघनोपरि वेगेन प्रकृष्टे शिरसी तयोः ॥ ८२ ॥

Here, again, as in the Suratha-Samādhi episode, the similarity of ideas and words is so patent that we have to recognise one of the two books as the borrower. Of course, we cannot wholly discount the possibility of there being a common source for both. Such a source, however, is unknown so far. The story, as presented in the *Saptaśatī,* is simple enough, and our extracts, which omit only Brahmā's *stuti* of Yoganidrā, verses 54-67, give a fairly complete idea of it. In the *Purāṇa,* the episode is described in four chapters. It begins, like the story in the *Saptaśatī,* with the birth of Madhu and Kaiṭabha from the dirt in Viṣṇu's ears. But then comes the divergence. As the two brothers speculate about their origin, they hear the mystic *bījākṣara* of Mahāsarasvatī. For full 1000 years they mutter it. Sarasvatī appears and grants them the boon of dying when they so willed. The first individual they see is Brahmā. They challenge him to a fight; and Brahmā who feels afraid of the demons' might, addresses a prayer to Viṣṇu. But Viṣṇu remains asleep nevertheless, making Brahmā come to the conclusion that it was not *nidrā* which was controlled by Viṣṇu but rather the latter who was controlled by *nidrā.* Being subject to *nidrā,* he was, like himself, her slave. Brahmā therefore next prays to Yoganidrā, and Viṣṇu gets up.

From here the story could have, in the natural course, gone on to a description of the fight between the demons and the god. But the *Purāṇa* puts in one full chapter devoted to a reasoned exposition of the *Śākta* view that *Śakti*, being the source of the greatness of Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā, has to be regarded as superior to them and identical with *Para* Brahma, The next chapter gives a description of the fight between the two brothers and Viṣṇu. But while in the *Saptaśatī*, Viṣṇu kills the demons, after a fight that lasted 5000 years, here in the *Purāṇa*. Viṣṇu is represented as wholly tired out after the fight and even so frightened as to think that he would meet his death at the demons' hands. He therefore addresses an appeal to the Devī, receives assurance of Her succour which he actually gets. When being on the verge of collapse, he looks appealingly to Her. The Devī's side-long glances render the demons love-stricken, and in response to Viṣṇu's offer of a boon they foolishly offer a boon to him, and the boon asked for, as in the *Saptaśatī*, is that they should die at his hands. There are a few minor divergences also towards the end of the story. But the demons die, after all, at Viṣṇu's hands.

3. *Mahiṣāsura-vadha*

The next episode we take up is the *Mahiṣāsura-vadha* or the *Madhyamacarita* of the *Saptaśatī*. As before, we begin by quoting parallel passages.

दुर्गासप्तशती [अध्याय २]

देवासुरमभूद् युद्धं पूर्वमब्दशतं पुरा ।
महिषेऽसुराणामधिपे देवानां च पुरंदरे ॥ १ ॥
तत्रासुरैर्महावीर्यैर्देवसैन्यं पराजितम् ।
जित्वा च सकलान् देवानिन्द्रोऽभून्महिषासुरः ॥ २ ॥
ततः पराजिता देवाः पद्मयोनिं प्रजापतिम् ।
पुरस्कृत्य गतास्तत्र यत्रेशगरुडध्वजौ ॥ ३ ॥

ततोऽतिकोपपूर्णस्य चक्रिणो वदनात्ततः ।
निश्चक्राम महत्तेजो ब्रह्मणः शङ्करस्य च ॥ ९ ॥
अन्येषां चैव देवानां शक्रादीनां शरीरतः ।
निर्गतं सुमहत्तेजस्तच्चैक्यं समगच्छत ॥ १० ॥
अतुलं तत् महत्तेजः सर्वदेवशरीरजम् ।
एकस्थं तदभून्नारी व्याप्तलोकत्रयं त्विषा ॥ ११ ॥

देवीभागवतपुराण [स्कन्ध ५, अध्याय ८]

एवं वर्षशतं पूर्णं कृत्वा युद्धं सुदारुणम् ।
अवापैन्द्रपदं कामं दानवो मदगर्वितः ॥ २३ ॥
श्रान्ताः सर्वे तदा राजन्ब्रह्माणं शरणं ययुः ॥ २५ ॥

ब्रह्मोवाच—

व्रजामोऽद्य सुराः सर्वे कैलासं पर्वतोत्तमं ।
शङ्करं पुरतः कृत्वा सर्वकार्यविशारदम्
ततो व्रजामो वैकुण्ठं यत्र देवो जनार्दनः ॥ ३८ ॥
शङ्करस्य शरीरात्तु निःसृतं महदद्भुतम् ॥ ३६ ॥
ततो विष्णुशरीरात्तु तेजोराशिमिवापरं ॥ ३८ ॥
अन्येषां चैव देवानां शरीरेभ्योऽतिभास्वरं ।
निर्गतं तन्महातेजोराशिरासीन्महोज्ज्वलः ॥ १ ॥

Both the works speak of the Devī's limbs get constituted in the following manner :—

(1) Face (*mukha*)	from	Śiva's	lustre,
(2) Hair	,,	Yama's	,,
(3) Three eyes	,,	Agni's	,,
(4) Eyebrows	,,	Sandhyā's	,,
(5) Ears	,,	Anila's	,,
(6) Nose	,,	Kubera's	,,
(7) Teeth	,,	Prajāpati's	,,
(8) Arms	,,	Viṣṇu's	,,

(9) Breasts from Soma's lustre
(10) Waist ,, Indra's ,,
(11) Thighs and legs from Varuṇa's lustre
(12) Buttocks ,, Bhū's ,,
(13) Fingers ,, Vasus' ,,

The words describing the limbs are almost the same in both the cases, though the *Purāṇa* adds here and there a few more descriptive epithets. The ears of the Devī, for instance, are spoken of as "*nāti hrasvau nātidīrghau dolavīva manobhuvaḥ*", though the comparison does not sound very apt. It adds also two limbs left out by the *Saptaśati*, the upper lip which was a product of Kārttikeya's lustre and the lower lip, which is said to have been born of Aruṇa's lustre. The same verbal similarity can be noted in the description of the arms and ornaments presented to Devī (*Saptaśatī* verses 19-31, and the *Devī-Bhāgavata*, V.9.1-22). The Devī's *aṭṭahāsa* is described as making the whole world tremble,

चुक्षुभुः सकलाः लोका समुद्रश्च चकम्पिरे ।
चचाल वसुधा चेलुः सकलाश्च महीधराः ॥

(दुर्गासप्तशती, २, ३३-४)

चकम्पे वसुधा तत्र श्रुत्वा तच्छब्दमद्भुतम् ।
चेलुश्च पर्वताः सर्वे चक्षोभाब्धिश्च वीर्यवान् ॥

(देवीभागवत ५. ६. ३७)

Details of the fight between Devī and Mahiṣāsura can also be compared; but here the dissimilarities are almost as pronounced as the similarities, and it is now time to turn to them.

The dissimilarities begin almost with the first few lines of the *Purāṇa* which, instead of going direct to the story, tries to prove that Māhāmāyā is superior to the gods, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva who have to incarnate themselves at her orders. None, with any independence, would on his own like the misery of *garbhavāsa*. The second chapter of the *Skandha* (5) gives the story of the two brothers, Karambha and Rambha, of whom the latter begets Mahiṣa on a *mahiṣī* (she-buffalo). There is no such story in the *Saptaśatī*. Of the commentators, Nāgojibhaṭṭa refers to the story as found in the *Kālīpurāṇa*; but an early commentator, Bhāskararāya, describes Mahiṣa as the son of Māhiṣmatī and the sage Sindhudvīpa.

The subject of the Chapters 3-18 (Skandha V) of the *Purāṇa* can be summarised as follows :—

(1) Mahiṣa challenges Indra and prepares for war (Chapter 3).

(2) Indra's deliberation with the gods. Bṛhaspati advises him to fight whatever be the consequences (Chapter 4)

(3) Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu join Indra in the fight against Mahiṣa (Chapter 5).

(4) Mahiṣa fights against the gods (Chapter 6)

(5) Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā leave the field and Mahiṣa becomes the lord of *svarga*, after defeating Indra in a Hundred Years' War (Chapter 7).

(6) On the gods approaching the Trinity of gods for assistance, Śakti manifests herself as the *samaṣṭi* (aggregate) of the *śaktis* of all the gods (Chapter 8).

(7) Gods give her ornaments and weapons produced from their own weapons (Chapter 9). Her *aṭṭahāsa* makes the demons curious. Her beauty is reported to Mahiṣa, who sends his *pradhāna* (chief minister) with a love proposal.

(8) The minister takes back Devī's reply to his master (Chapter 10).

(9) Mahiṣa's deliberations result in his sending his general, Tāmra, against Devī (Chapter 11).

(10) Some of Mahiṣa's generals offer to go and capture Devī, some of them giving rather a distorted meaning to the Devī's message (Chapter 12).

(11) Death of Bāṣkala and Durdhara (Chapter 13).
(12) Death of Cikṣura and Tāmra (Chapter 14).
(13) Death of Biḍāla and Asilomā (Chapter 15).
(14) Mahiṣa puts forward his love proposal (Chapter 16).
(15) Story of Mandodarī by Mahiṣa (Chapter 17).
(16) Death of Mahiṣa at the hands of Devī (Chapter 18).

With this summary before us, it is easy to point out the differences between the story of the *Purāṇa* and *Saptaśatī*. What the *Purāṇa* describes in so many chapters, the *Saptaśatī* narrates in barely 69 verses. Chapters 3-7 have nothing corresponding to themselves in the *Saptaśatī*. Further, there are no deliberations with the ministers, and not even a trace of the love element which occupies such a prominent place in the *Purāṇa*. The narrative in the *Saptaśatī* has almost a torrential flow, and its story moves on swiftly, almost inexorably to its final denoucement, the death of Mahiṣa at the hands of Devī. The nineteenth chapter of the *Purāṇa* and the fourth of the *Saptaśatī* have the *stuti* of the goddess. But it is not only the contents of the *stutis* which differ but also the spirit that underlies them. The following verses of the *Purāṇa*, for instance, can have no place in the *Saptaśatī* :—

शप्तो हरिस्तु भृगुणा कुपितेन कामं । मीनो बभूव कमठः खलु शूकरस्तु ।
पश्चान्नृसिंह इति? छलकृद्धरायां, तान्सेवतां जननि, मृत्युभयं न किं स्यात् ॥
शम्भोः पपात भुवि लिङ्गमिदं प्रसिद्धं, शापेन तेन च भृगोर्विपिने गतस्य ।
तं ये नरा भुवि भजन्ति कपालिनन्तु तेषां सुखं कथमिहापि परत्र मातः ॥
योऽभूद्गजाननगणाधिपतिर्महेशात् तं ये भजन्ति मनुजा वितथप्रपन्नाः ।
जानन्ति ते न सकलार्थफलप्रदात्रीं, त्वां देवि विश्वजननीं सुखसेवनीयाम् ॥

The twentieth canto of the *Purāṇa* gives a description of ideal conditions that prevailed on the earth on Mahiṣasura's death. The Brāhmaṇas offered sacrifices with cakes but not with the flesh of animals. Of them, the Brāhmaṇas with *rājasa* temperament became *Purohitas* of the Kṣatriyas, while those of the *sāttvika* temperament took to *trikarma*. Meat-eating, according to *vidhi*, was permissible to the Purohitas; and it might have been permitted also to the *tāmasa* Brāhmaṇas "who served rulers, read a little, and were given to attachment and hate. "Kṣatriyas were protectors, the Vaiśyas traders, agriculturists and bankers". This chapter of the *Purāṇa* naturally finds no corespondence in the *Saptaśatī*; but it is interesting, and in some ways indicative of the period in which it was composed.

4. *Śumbha-Niśumbha-vadha*

The last episode we compare is that of the death of Śumbha and Niśumbha at the hands of Bhagavatī. We shall begin by noting the similarities between the accounts of the two books and quoting parallel passages.

दुर्गासप्तशती [अध्याय ८]

पुरा शुम्भनिशुम्भाभ्यामसुराभ्यां शचीपतेः ।
त्रैलोक्यं यज्ञभागाश्च हृता मदबलाश्रयात् ॥ १ ॥
हृताधिकारास्त्रिदशास्ताभ्यां सर्वे निराकृताः ॥ ४ ॥

देवीभागवतपुराण [५.२१]

पुराशुम्भनिशुम्भौ द्वावसुरौ भूमिमण्डले ॥ १० ॥
कृतं युद्धं महत्तेन शुम्भेनाक्लिष्टकर्मणा ॥ ४६ ॥
ऐन्द्रं पदं तदा तेन गृहीतं बलवत्तया ॥ ४६ ॥
त्रैलोक्यं यज्ञभागाश्च हृतास्तेन महात्मना ॥ ४७ ॥
हृताधिकारास्ते ? बभ्रमुर्विजने वने ॥ ५२ ॥

After thus stating the usurpation of Indra's position by Śumbha and Niśumbha, both the books represent the gods as praying to the Goddess. The *stutis*, as in other cases, differ in content as well as spirit, the one trying to emphasise Her universality and the other Her superiority to other deities. But the result of the prayer is stated in almost the same words by both our sources. Devī, who is on her way to a bath in the Jāhnavī, asks them (gods) as to whom they were praying and in the *Sapta-*

śatī the reply is given by Śivā who comes out of Pārvati's body, leaving behind herself a dark figure which thereafter is known as Kauśikī. In the *Purāṇa*, the reply is by the gods, but we find the same story of the Kausikā and Ambikā. The Devī's beauty is reported to Śumbha and he is urged to have her in the following words :—

नैव तादृक् क्वचिद्रूपं दृष्टं केनचिदुत्तमम् ।
ज्ञायतां काप्यसौ देवी गृह्यतां चासुरेश्वर ॥
स्त्रीरत्नमतिचार्वङ्गी द्योतयन्ती दिशस्त्विषा ।
सा तु तिष्ठति दैत्येन्द्र तां भवान् द्रष्टुमर्हति ॥
यानि रत्नानि मणयो गजाश्वादीनि वै प्रभो ।
त्रैलोक्ये तु समस्तानि साम्प्रतं भान्ति ते गृहे ॥

(दुर्गासप्तशती, ५, ४४-४७)

ज्ञात्वानय गृहे भार्यां कुरु कल्याणलोचनाम् ।
निश्चितं नास्ति संसारे नारी त्वेवम्विधा किल ॥
देवानां सर्वरत्नानि गृहीतानि त्वया नृप ।
कस्मान्नेमां वरारोहां प्रगृह्णासि नरोत्तम ॥

(देवीभागवतपुराण, ५, २३, १८-२०)

After this we find the enumeration of the following *ratnas* captured by Śumbha and Niśumbha :—

1.	Airāvata	from	Indra	(*Sapta.*,	5.47 ;	Devi,	5.23.21)
2.	Pārijāta	,,	,,	,,	,, ;	,,	,,)
3.	Uccaiḥśravā	,,	,,	,,	,, ;	,,	,,)
4.	Vimāna	,,	Brahmā	,,	5.48 ;	,,	,, .22)
5.	Nidhi	,,	Kubera	,,	5.49 ;	,,	,, .23)
6.	Chatra	,,	Varuṇa	,,	5.50 ;	,,	,, • ,,
7.	Unfading garland	,,	the Sea	,,	5.49 ;	,,	,, .25)
8.	Śakti	,,	Yama	,,	5,51 ;	,,	,, .26)
9.	Pāśa	,,	Varuṇa	,,	,, ;	,,	,, .24)

The words used are either identical or a mere paraphrase of the original source, whichever it might have been.

In both the sources, a messenger named Sugrīva requests the Devī to marry either Śumbha or Niśumbha ; and the Devī's reply is the same in both the sources :—

श्रूयतामल्पबुद्धित्वात् प्रतिज्ञा या कृता पुरा ॥ ६८ ॥
यो मां जयति संग्रामे यो मे दर्पं व्यपोहति ।
यो मे प्रतिबलो लोके स मे भर्ता भविष्यति ॥ ६९ ॥

(दुर्गासप्तशती, अध्याय ५)

प्रतिज्ञा मे कृता बाल्यादन्यथा सा कथं भवेत् । [५-२४-१३]
तस्माद् ब्रूहि निशुम्भञ्च शुम्भं वा बलवत्तरम् ।
विना युद्धं न मे भर्ता भविता कोऽपि सौष्ठवात् ॥ [„ „ १४]
जित्वा मां तरसा कामं करं गृह्णातु साम्प्रतम् । [„ „ १५]

(देवीभागवतपुराण)

In reply to the message brought by the *dūta*, Dhūmralocana is asked to proceed against the Devī. Here are the words used .–

हे धूम्रलोचनाशु त्वं स्वसैन्यपरिवारितः ।
तामानय बलाद् दुष्टां केशाकर्षणविह्वलाम् ॥ ६. ३. ॥
तत्परित्राणदः कश्चिद् यदि वोत्तिष्ठते नरः ।
स हन्तव्योऽमरो वापि यक्षो गन्धर्व एव वा ॥ ६. ४. ॥

(दुर्गासप्तशती)

धूम्रलोचन, गच्छाशु सैन्येन महतावृतः ॥ ५-२४-३६ ॥
गृहीत्वानयतां मुग्धां स्ववीर्यमदमोहिताम् ।
देवो वा दानवो वापि मनुष्यो वा महाबलः ॥ ५-२४-३७ ॥
तत्पार्ष्णिग्राहतां प्राप्तो हन्तव्यस्तरसा त्वया ।

(देवीभागवत)

Dhūmralocana's death is described in practically identical word in both the books. The order of the death of the *asura* generals who proceeded after that to fight against Ambikā is given as follows in the *Saptaśatī* :—

(a) Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa slain by Kālī (Cāmuṇḍā) (Chapter 7)

(b) The whole *asura* army proceeded against Ambikā. Ambikā, on her side, was assisted by the Devaśaktis. Śivadūtī came out of Ambikā's body and sent Śiva as a messenger to Śumbha and Niśumbha. Seeing the *asura* army fleeing, Raktabīja came to fight against the Śaktis and very soon the whole field was full of demons of the same size and power as Raktabīja himself. Death of Raktabīja at the hands of Ambikā and Cāmuṇḍā (Chapter 8)

(c) Fight of Niśumbha and Śumbha against Devī. Death of Niśumbha (Chapter 9).

(d) Death of Śumbha (Chapter 10).

The *Devībhāgavata* follows the same order, and very often uses the same words as the *Saptaśatī*, the quotation of which would take more space than we can have in a short essay on the subject.

But in this episode as in others, there are some important deviations from the story as found in the *Saptaśatī*. Śumbha of the *Purāṇa* has a little more of circumspection than his counterpart in the *Saptaśatī*. On receiving Sugrīva's message, he confers with Niśumbha. His general, Dhūmralocana, has the perverseness to give '*saṅgrāma*' of Devī's message the meaning of *rati-saṅgrāma*. When Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa are killed by Cāmuṇḍā, his followers advise him to submit to Ambikā. But Śumbha, as a believer in *udyama*, controverts their view and sends Raktabīja against Ambikā, and on his fainting in battle, orders a general mobilization of his forces. In the *Saptaśatī* mobilization, precedes, as it should, the attack by Raktabīja, and the Asura forces include the Kambus, Koṭivīryas, Dhūmras, Kālakas, Daurhṛdas and Mauryas. The *Purāṇa* has the Kāmbojas and the Kālakeyas, besides others who remain unspecified. The battle with Raktabīja is only another version of that found in the *Saptaśatī*, very much similar to it in thought as well as words. But on his death, Śumbha's followers are represented in the *Purāṇa* as requesting him once again to go to *Pātāla*, but

Śumbha chooses the nobler course of continuing the fight. Niśumbha dies in the fight against Devī, and Śumbha, though advised once again to give up the fight, proceeds against Devī.

Here comes the main divergence between the two stories. On seeing Devī who had destroyed all his friends and relatives, Śumbha, instead of being angry, becomes *kāmavimohita* (stricken with love) and tells Ambikā that he could fight with her only if she were ugly, long-lipped and "crow-coloured". Ambikā therefore directs him to fight with Cāmuṇḍā. In the *Purāṇa* thus Śumbha dies not at the hands of Ambikā but Cāmuṇḍā.

Some conclusions

With the gist of the episodes common to the *Saptaśatī* and the *Purāṇa* before us, we can now draw a few conclusions. The way almost every expression of the *Saptaśatī* gets reproduced in the *Purāṇa*, either verbatim or as paraphrase, has led us to conclude that the *Saptaśatī* is the earlier of the two works. It presents a well-knit story, every word and phrase of which can and has been shown to be appropriate by its commentators. Wherever the *Purāṇa* diverges from it, one can almost sense the presence of extraneous matter, interpolated into the episode. In the episode of Suratha and Samādhi, for instance, the account of Brahmā and Viṣṇu trying to get at the dimensions of the Śivaliṅga comes in rather unexpectedly and not very appropriately. The greatness of Śakti could have been proved even without it. We are not very sure also whether there is any poetic appropriateness in representing Madhu and Kaiṭabha as Bhagavatī's devotees. And we feel that the writer of the *Purāṇa* has overdone the love element. Madhu and Kaiṭabha fall in love with Yoganidrā. Mahiṣa goes on sending love messages to Bhagavatī, paying court to her even in his last battle. Śumbha, though otherwise sensible, makes love to Her in the last battle and has to be slain by Kālī. All these things can, indeed, be given some meaning. But even then one cannot help feeling that some of these things had no place in the original episode.

We have other reasons also for regarding the *Devī-bhāgavata* as the later of the two works. The 16th verse of the 35th chapter of the fifth *skandha* speaks of the recitation of *caritratraya* (three episodes) by Samādhi and Suratha. As the *Devībhāgavata* itself contains not only three but many episodes, the reference should be to the three-episodal story of the *Durgāsaptaśatī*. The *Purāṇa* probably grew up with this as the nucleus. But new *stutis* were added, as the older ones did not have the desired emphasis on the exclusive supremacy of Jagadambā. The *Purāṇa* had to cater to the new sectarian demands of the period and to enunciate its position in clearer and more emphatic terms.

The social conditions prevailing in India on the death of Mahiṣa are also, as pointed out above, indicative in some measure of the period when it was composed. The times when animals could be ruthlessly sacrificed had gone, for we are told that the Brāhmaṇas performed sacrifices by offering sacrificial cakes and not meat. Most of them, in the parts where the *Purāṇa* was composed, appear thus to have turned vegetarians, only the sections which were in daily contact with Kṣatriyas continuing a non-vegetarian diet. Western Rājasthān had actually these conditions in the twelfth century. We cannot however say when these conditions first came into existence. Further, we should note that even though Vedism had declined, it was strong enough to advocate the doctrine that Vedic *hiṁsā* was not to be regarded as *hiṁsā* at all. This favourite doctrine of the Vedic school is preached more than once in the *Purāṇa* and should lead us to think of a period when the schools of *Karmamīmāṁsā* were strong enough to exercise influence on important sections of Hindu society, in spite of the prevailing trend being in favour of *ahiṁsā*. This and the reference to Mimāṁsā as a school different from Vedānta, of which we shall be speaking presently, should we think, indicate a period not earlier than that of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Śaṅkarācārya.

An age later still is indicated by the use of certain words. One of the most important of these is the term "*pārṣṇigrāha*". In Kauṭilyan phraseology, *pārṣṇigrāha* is an enemy in the rear, and, as Kane remarks, this special term is applied to him because he causes trouble in the realm of the *vijigīṣu*, when the latter has started on an invasion or is about to start on one. Literally it means "one who catches by the heels." For centuries this was the only significance that the word had in military parlance. The time therefore, by which this meaning was forgotten and a new one given must have been fairly late in our literary history. A few instances of the use of the word *pārṣṇigrāha* in the *Purāṇa* are the following :—

[a] देवो वा दानवो वाऽपि मनुष्यो वा महाबलः । [५.२४.३७]
तत्पार्ष्णिग्राहतां प्राप्तो हन्तव्यस्तरसा त्वया ॥ [५.२४.३८]

[b] तैर्बाणैर्निहतास्तस्य पार्ष्णिग्राहाः सहस्रशः ।
बभञ्ज च रथं वेगात् सूतं हत्वा खरानपि ॥ [५.२५.१८]

[c] सन्धिर्वा विग्रहो वाद्य स्थानं निर्याणमेव च ।
मन्त्रयित्वा महाराज कुरु कार्यं यथारुचि ॥
तत्सन्निधौ बलं नास्ति तथापि शत्रुतापन ।
पार्ष्णिग्राहाः सुरा सर्वे भविष्यन्ति किलापदि ॥ [५.२५.३९-४०]

[d] निशुम्भाहं गमिष्यामि रथारूढो रणोपरि ।
हत्वा तामागमिष्यामि नागमिष्यामि चान्यथा ॥
त्वन्तु सेनायुतो वीर पार्ष्णिग्राहो भवस्व मे ॥ [५.२९.५३-४]

The *pārṣṇigrāha* of these contexts has obviously the sense of a follower. Śumbha goes to fight against Devī and asks (Niśumbha to be his *pārṣṇigrāha*. Kālikā killed the *pārṣṇigrāhas* followers) of Dhūmralocana. The Devī has no army of her own. But the demons fear that the gods would become her *pārṣṇigrāhas*. "Whoever becomes her *pārṣṇigrāha*", says Śumbha "whether he be a *deva*, a *dānava*, or an extremely powerful human being was to be slain by force by him (Dhūmralocana)." Specially unambiguous among these is the quotation (b), 5.25.18.

Another tell-tale word is *bumbārava* which finds no place not only in classical Sanskrit literature but also the cultured Sanskrit of later Brāhmaṇical books. For it, one has to go to Jain historical chronicles like the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* and the *Prabandhakośa* and to works in old Gujarātī and old Rājasthānī. The word exists even now as *būm.* The period when it found its way even to Sanskrit books must be taken as late, and it is not unlikely that the works which used it might have been composed in Western India. Below are a few instances of the use of *bumbārava* in the *Devībhāgavata.*

गत्वा दैत्यपतिं सर्वे चक्रबुर्म्बारवं मुहुः ।
रक्ष रक्ष महाराज भक्षयत्यद्य कालिका ॥ ५.२६.३ ॥
ततो बुम्बारवं श्रुत्वा शुम्भः परमदारुणम् ।
उद्योगं सर्वसैन्यानामादिदेश ह ॥ ५.२८.१०.११ ॥
बुम्बारवस्तु सुमहानभूत्तत्र बलार्णवे ।
पुष्पवृष्टिं तदा देवाश्चकर्देव्या गणोपरि ॥ ५.२८.६० ॥
त्यक्त्वायुधानि सर्वाणि सैनिकाःक्षतजाप्लुताः ।
जग्मुबुर्म्बारवं ? कुर्वाणा राजमन्दिरम् ॥ ५.३०.४१ ॥

We may note also the peculiar sense of the root *rakṣa,* in some passages of the *Purāṇa,* which seems to be preserved in Rājasthānī words like *rakhel* (a keep) and sentences like "ghar men rākh lī". In the following verses of the *Purāṇa,* we have to look out for some such late sense and not the well-known classical sense of "to protect" for this root.

किं कृतं किल शीतांशो कर्म धर्मविगर्हितम् ।
रक्षिता मम भार्येयं सुन्दरी केन हेतुना ॥
तव देवगुरुश्चाहं यजमानोऽसि सर्वथा ।
गुरुभार्या कथं मूढ भुक्ता किं रक्षिताथवा ॥
(१.११.१३-४)

Of a different type is the reference to Vedānta as *sāttvika*. to Mīmāṁsā as *rājasa* and to the Nyāyaśāstra as *tāmasa*. We have to see when the term Mīmāṁsā came to be limited to Karmamīmāṁsā and Nyāya to the philosophic system now known as Nyāyaśāstra. We, as suggested above, think that this could not have happened before the eighth century. But the matter can be regarded as open to discussion.

Scholars have tried by various means and arguments to arrive at the date of the *Devībhāgavata* and also to decide the question whether it is a *Mahāpurāṇa*. Ours has been a more limited objective and we have tried to explore two or three new routes leading to it. We shall regard our labour as more than repaid, if we succeed in demonstrating that in the solution of such problems it might be a good thing to try also some new approaches.

शिवपुराणे केषांचित् पाठानां विचारः

विनायक परांजपे

[In this article the learned writer has reviewed certain corrupt readings of the Vāyavīya-Saṁhitā (II. Adhs. 21 ff.) of the Śiva-Purāṇa, and has tried to suggest his own emendments according to context and sense.]

भारतीयानामार्याणां प्रमाणभूतेषु ग्रन्थेषु वेदास्तावत् प्राथम्यं भजन्ते। वेदशब्देन तावत् ऋग्वेदादिचतुष्टयस्य शाखाभेदभिन्नस्य संहिताः, ब्राह्मणानि, आरण्यकानि इति समेषामेव ग्रन्थानां संग्रहो भवति। वेदानामिव 'मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यादिभिः महर्षिभिः प्रणीतानां स्मृतीनां प्रामाण्यमपि भारतीयैः सर्वत्रैवांगीकृतं परिदृश्यते। स्मृतीनां प्रामाण्यं तावत् वेदप्रतिपादितार्थोपबृंहणादेव। वेदप्रतिपादितानामेव विविधानामर्थानां सकलजनबोधनार्थं मनोहारिभिराख्यानादिभिः प्रतिपादनं भवति पुराणेषु। तेन च पुराणानामपि प्रामाण्यं समभिप्रेतमेव भारतीयानाम्। अतएव च सर्वत्र धार्मिकेषु कार्येषु संकल्पावसरे "श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणोक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थं" इत्येव प्रयुञ्ज्मः शब्दम्। एवं च श्रुतिस्मृती इव प्रमाणभूतानि पुराणानि भारतीयानां इति सुस्पष्टं वक्तुं शक्यते।

आधुनिकानां विमर्शकानां विशिष्य प्राचीनेतिहासविशारदानां संदृश्यते महानादरः पुराणेषु। ख्रिस्ताब्दस्य द्वितीयं शतकमारभ्य दशकं शतकं यावत् भारते समुत्पन्नानां भक्तिमार्गप्रधानानां शैववैष्णवशाक्तगाणपत्यादिसंप्रदायविशेषाणां, सांख्ययोगादिदर्शनानां, आगमप्रामाण्यवादिनां पाशुपतादीनां तन्त्रप्रधानमार्गाणां, यथावद्वर्णनमधिगच्छामः भागवतादिषु पुराणग्रन्थेषु। तथा च पुराणेषु उपनिबद्धानां वंशावलीनां, वर्णितानां भूभागानां, समुल्लिखितानां जातिविशेषाणां उट्टङ्कितानां धान्यादीनां, निर्दिष्टानां नदीनां तीर्थानां च अस्ति असाधारणं महत्त्वम्। भारतीयानां संस्कृतिं, धर्मं, तत्त्वज्ञानं, समाजस्थितिं च अधिजिगीषूणां पुराणानि विहाय साधनान्तरं नास्त्येवेति वचने अतिशयोक्तिर्नैव स्यात्।

एवं च प्राचीनसरण्या पुराणानां प्रमाणेषु अन्तर्भावात्, आधुनिकसरण्या च पुराणानां इतिहासादिविमर्शप्रसंगे असाधारणं साधनं इति उपयोक्तुमावश्यकत्वात् पुराणानां संशोधिता आवृत्तिः नितान्तमावश्यकी। संशोधितावृत्तिसंपादनं तु महता कालेन महता द्रव्यव्ययेनैव सेत्स्यति। इदानीं तु अष्टादशमहापुराणेषु परिगणितं यत् शिवपुराणं तस्य सप्तम्यां वायवीयसंहितायामुत्तरभागे एकविंशतितममध्यायमारभ्य आसमाप्ति या अशुद्धयो मया पठनावसरे समधिगताः, तद्विषये यथामति समीचीनं पाठं सूचयामि।

(मयोपयुक्तं पुस्तकं वेंकटेश्वरमुद्रणालये १८७६ तमे शकाब्दे मुद्रितमस्ति। अन्यत्तु मुद्रितं पुस्तकं मया नोपलब्धमेतावता। तत्र संदर्भनिर्देशे प्रथमोङ्कः वायवीयसंहितायाः उत्तरभागस्य अध्यायं सूचयति। द्वितीयाङ्कस्तावत् श्लोकं बोधयति। तदुत्तरं a, b, c, d इति अक्षरचतुष्टयं श्लोकस्य चरणं निर्दिशति)।

दक्षिणे चोत्तरे चैव नन्दीशं सुयशं तथा" (23. 4ab)।

अत्र "सुयशं" इति पदं तावदशुद्धम्। प्रकरणेस्मिन् तन्त्रशास्त्रोक्तः बहिर्यागक्रमः प्रतिपाद्यते। तत्र नन्दीशेन सह नन्दिप्रियायाः पूजनं सुविहितमेव। तस्या नन्दिनः प्रियाया नामधेयं तु "सुयशा" इति सर्वेषु पुराणेषु प्रथितमेव। अतश्च "सुयंशां" इति शुद्धः पाठः स्वीकर्तव्यः। अत्र पोषकं प्रमाणं तु २४ तमे अध्याये नन्दिपूजाविधाने कृतः उल्लेखः स च यथा—

"उत्तरे द्वारपार्श्वस्य भार्यां च मरुतां सुताम्। "सुयशां" (24. 18cd) इत्यादि।

तत्रैव पूजाविधाने—

"सुयशां सुव्रतामम्बां पादमण्डनतत्पराम्" (24. 19ab)

इति पाठः। तत्र सुयशा नन्दिनः प्रिया पूजनीया। तस्याश्च चित्रे परिकल्पनीये मनसि वा ध्याने कर्तव्ये अवस्थाविशेषः पद्येस्मिन् सूचितो भवति। अत्र तावत् मुद्रितपाठानुसारं "अम्बा नाम पार्वती सा च चरणरागनिक्षेपणादिकर्मव्यापृता" इति असंगत एवार्थः। परं यदि "अम्बां पादमण्डनतत्पराम्" इति स्थाने "अम्बापादमण्डनतत्परा" इति समस्तं पदमंगीक्रियेत तदा सुयशा दासीत्वेन पार्वतीचरणरागनिक्षेपकर्मनिमग्ना इति अर्थः स्यात् सुसंगतश्च सः "अम्बापादमण्डन-

तत्परा" इत्येवं समस्तेन पदेन भाव्यमत्र । पंचविंशतितमेध्याये विविधानां राजोपचाराणां समर्पणं शिवपूजाप्रसंगेनोक्तम् । तत्र शंखस्यापि समर्पणं शिवमुद्दिश्य समुपदिशति । शंखश्च रत्नादिमण्डितः समर्पणीयः इति प्रतिपादयितुमाह-

गम्भीरनिनदः शंखः हंसकुन्देन्दुसंनिभः ।
आस्वपृष्ठादिदेशेषु रत्नचामीकराचितः ॥ (23. 31)

अत्र शिवाय समर्पणीयः शंखः राजोपचारेषु अन्तर्भवति । तेन च शंखः रत्नेन सुवर्णेन च परिष्करणीयोस्ति । अतएव च "आस्व" इति स्थाने "आस्य" इति भाव्यम् । तेन च शंखस्य मुखप्रदेशे वायुपूरणसौलभ्यार्थं सुवर्णनलिकां स्थापयेत् इति अर्थः प्रकरणानुगतः सिध्येत् । एवं च "आस्व" इति स्थाने "आस्य" इत्येव शुद्धः पाठः ।

तस्मिन्नेव २५ तमे अध्याये—

"भेरीमृदंगमुरजतिमिच्छपटहादयः ।" (25. 33ab)

इति पठ्यते । अत्रापि राजोपचारत्वेन विविधानां चर्मवाद्यविशेषाणां समुल्लेखोस्ति । तत्र "तिमिच्छ" इति शब्दः कुत्रापि मुद्रितेषु शब्दकोशेषु नोपलभ्यते । नापि वा व्युत्पत्या "तिमिच्छ शब्दः वाद्यविशेषरूपं अर्थं बोधयितुं क्षमः । विचिन्त्यमाने मम तु एवं प्रतिभाति तिमिच्छ" इति पदे "गोपुच्छ" इति पदेन भाव्यमिति । "गोपुच्छ" इति पदं तावत् चर्मवाद्यबोधकं कोशग्रन्थेषु समुल्लिखितं दृश्यते । "अत्र "तिमिच्छ" "गोपुच्छ" इति पदद्वयस्य छकारं वर्जयित्वा किमपि सादृश्यं नास्ति इति तु सत्यमेव । अथापि सदृशस्य पदस्यालाभात् "गोपुच्छ" इत्येव पाठः स्वीकरणीयः भवेदिति भाति । षड्विंशतितमेऽध्याये नित्योत्सवं प्रतिपादयन् ग्रन्थकृदाह—

"शिवस्यारोप्यः तत्पात्रं द्विजस्यालंकृतस्य च" । (26. 31cd)

अत्र तु वर्णनं प्रकृतं नित्योत्सवस्य । नित्योत्सवे धातुमयं पात्रं गृहीत्वा तत्र पात्रे पाशुपतं अस्त्रमावाह्य प्रदक्षिणात्रयं कर्तव्यमिति प्रतिपादितम् । अत्र मुद्रितपाठः "शिवस्य" "आरोप्यः" इति चाशुद्ध एव । अर्थानुसारेण "शिरसि" "आरोप्य" इति च संशोधनमावश्यकं भवति । यतः, तत् राजतं सौवर्णं वा पात्रं ब्राह्मणस्य शिरसि आरोप्य स्थापयित्वा प्रदक्षिणात्रयं कुर्यात्

इति प्रकरणोपयुक्तः अर्थस्तत्र संगमयितुं शक्यते । "आरोप्यः" इति सविसर्गः पाठः वृत्तमपि विरुणद्धि ।

अग्निमेध्याये होमविधिं प्रतिपादयति ग्रन्थकारः । तत्र च एवमुक्तः—

"ततो होमविशिष्टेन घृतेनापूर्य वै स्रुचम् (27. 25ab) इति ।

अत्र प्रकरणं तावत् पूर्णाहुतेः । पूर्णाहुतिस्तावत् परिसमाप्ते यागे अनुष्ठीयते । तेन च होमं कृत्वा अवशिष्टं यद् घृतं तेन घृतेन स्रुक्परिपूरणमेवाभिप्रेतमत्र । ततश्च "होमविशिष्टेन" इति अनर्थावहं पाठं परित्यज्य "होमावशिष्टेन" इति संशोधने क्रियमाणे अर्थसंगतिः सिध्यति ।

अष्टाविंशतितमेऽध्याये नैमित्तिकानि कर्माणि तन्त्रानुसारीणि प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । तत्र-

"निर्मितानुगुणाः कार्याः पुरश्चरणपूर्विकाः" (27. 16ab)

इति पाठः पूर्वं तु विविधानि अशुभनिमित्तानि प्रतिपादितानि यथा—दौर्मनस्ये दुराचारे......रोगे वा—इत्यन्तेन । एवं अशुभे निमित्ते पुण्यकर्मविधानमत्राभिप्रेतम् । एवं च प्रकरणानुसारेण "निर्मितानुगुणाः" इति स्थाने "निमित्तानुगुणाः" इत्येव पाठः शुद्धः अर्थवाहकश्च भवति । तेन च यद्यत् संध्यापूजनादितपश्चर्यात्मकं कर्म तत्सर्वं तत्तद्दिननिमित्तानुसारि भवतु इत्येव फलितोर्थः ।

३०तमे अध्याये आवरणपूजायामाह ग्रन्थकारः—

"रुद्रप्रथमभूताख्यां विविधां च सशक्तिकाम्" (30. 23ab) इति ।

अत्र तु आवरणपूजायां शिवस्य ये गणास्तेषामावाहनं पूजनं च क्रियते । तत्र रुद्राः गणेषु अन्तर्भूताः "प्रमथाः स्युः पारिषदाः" इति कोशानुसारेण "प्रमथ" इत्येव पाठः, तेषामेव शिवगणान्तःपातित्वात् । एतावता "प्रथम" इति यः पाठः, अयुक्तः स इति कृत्वा "प्रमथ" इति शुद्धः पाठ आदरणीयो भवति ।

तस्मिन्नेवाध्याये आवरणपूजाप्रसंग एवं पठ्यते—

"तृतीयावरणे चक्रुः पूर्वभागे समर्चयेत्" (30. 59ab) इति ।

अग्रे तावत् विविधानामायुधानां विष्णुहस्तगतानां पूजनमुपदिशति ग्रन्थकारः । अत्रापि तृतीयावरणे आयुधविशेषस्य विष्णुहस्तगतस्यावाहनं पूजनं च विधेयम् । एवं च "चक्रुः" इति स्थाने "चक्रं" इति पठनीयम् । तेन च प्रकरणानुसारि अर्थसंगमनं सुशकं भवति । "चक्रुः" इति क्रियापदं तु सर्वथा अन्वयानर्हमेवास्मिन् वाक्ये ।

अग्रिमेऽध्याये आवरणपूजान्ते प्रार्थनापराः श्लोकाः प्रवर्तन्ते । तत्र—

"शिवस्य तु शिवायाश्च हृन्मूर्तिशिवभविते" (30. 12d)

इति पाठः। तत्रैव प्रकरणे "शिवाश्रिते" "शिवभाविते" इति पदद्वयं प्रयुक्तं परिदृश्यते। तदनुसारेणात्रापि "शिवभविते" इति अनर्थकं पाठं परित्यज्य "शिवभाविते" इति पाठः आदरणीयः। तद्वदेव "हृन्मूर्ति" इति यद् विभक्तिशून्यं पदं तदपि "हृन्मूर्ती" इति शोधनीयम्। यतः, प्रकरणेऽत्र तन्त्रशास्त्रानुसारेण षडंगन्यासोपयुक्ताः मन्त्राः "हृदयाय नमः", "शिखायै वषट्" इत्यादयः "हृत्" "शिखा" "नेत्रम्" इत्यादिभिः पदैः उल्लिखिताः। तादृशमन्त्रमय्यौ मूर्ती परिकल्प्येते शिवस्य शिवायाश्च। अतः द्विवचनं तत्रावश्यकम्। तेनैव च उत्तरार्धे "ते मे कामं प्रयच्छतां" इति वचनमपि संगच्छते। एवं च "हृन्मूर्ती" इत्येव पाठः आवश्यकः। एवमेव—

"शिवस्य च शिवायाश्च शिखामूर्ति शिवाश्रिते" (30. 45ab)

इत्यत्रापि "शिखामूर्ती" इत्येव पाठेन भाव्यम्।

"शिवस्य च शिवायाश्च नेत्रमूर्ति शिवाश्रिते" (30. 43ab)

इत्यत्रापि "नेत्रमूर्ती" इत्येव पाठः स्वीकरणीयः।

अत्रैवाध्याये—"वृक्षराजो महातेजाः महामेघसमस्वनः" (30. 53ab)

इति पाठः। अत्रापि प्रार्थनायां नन्दिवर्णनं प्रकृतम्। नन्दी तावत् सर्वथा वृक्षराजो भवितुं नार्हति। तेन च सर्वथा "वृक्षराज" इति पदमनन्वितमेव। अतश्च तत्स्थाने "वृषराज" इति स्थापनीयम्। तदात्वे च वृषा बलीवर्दाः तेषु प्रधानः नन्दी इति प्रकरणानुगोऽर्थः संभवति।

३०तमेध्याये विविधा देवताः प्रार्थयमानः आह ग्रन्थकारः—

"इन्द्रजिच्चन्द्रसेनानीः" (30. 72a) इति।

अग्रे तावत् कार्तिकेयस्य वर्णनं प्रवर्तते। कार्तिकेयस्तावत् इन्द्रस्य सेनापतिः, न तु चन्द्रस्य। तेन च "इन्द्रसेनानीः" इति पाठेन भाव्यं "चन्द्रसेनानीः" इत्यत्र। एवं च "इन्द्रजिच्चेन्द्रसेनानीः" इत्येव शुद्धः पाठः।

३२तमेध्याये तन्त्रशास्त्रानुसारेण मारणोच्चाटनादिषु कर्मसु ध्यातव्यस्य शिवस्य भेदमाहः—

"चिन्त्यः सौम्यमनुः शंभुः कार्ये शान्तिकपौष्टिके (37. 42cd) इति।

अत्र शान्तिके पौष्टिके च कर्मणि कीदृशी शिवस्य मूर्तिः ध्येया इति प्रतिपादयति।अत्र तु मनुः सौम्यो वा क्रूरो वा इति नैव प्रतिपादनीयम्। तेन च "सौम्यमनुः" इति पाठः प्रामादिकः। तत्र च "सौम्यतनुः" इति संशोधनमावश्यकम्। तथात्वे च शान्तिकपौष्टिकादौ कार्ये शान्तः चन्द्रचूडः एव ध्येयः इति प्राकरणिकः अर्थः सेत्स्यति।

तस्मिन्नेवाध्याये फलश्रुतिं निरूपयन्नाह: "पूजायतेऽतिकृपणः" (32. 75c) इति। अत्र तु अतिकृपणस्य पूजा नैव सुसंगता भवति। नापि "पूजायते" इति क्रियापदं अर्थविशेषं बोधयति। अग्रे च "रिक्तो वैश्रवणायते" नाम दरिद्रः कुबेरतुल्यो भवति। "कामायते विरूपोपि" नाम कुरूपोऽपि मानवः सौन्दर्यपूर्णः मदन इव भवति। इति उपवर्णितमस्ति। एवं च फलश्रुतौ प्रसिद्धोपमानताप्राप्तिरेव निर्दिष्टास्ति। ततश्च कृपणस्य विषयेपि तद्विरोधिनः औदार्यरूपस्य गुणस्थोपमानभूतः कर्ण एवात्र स्यात्। तेन च कर्णायतेऽतिकृपणः" इत्येव पाठः स्थापनीयो भवेत्।

प्रसंगवशाद् योगमार्गं बोधयितुं प्रवृत्तो ग्रन्थकृत् प्राणायामस्वरूपं वर्णयति प्राणायामस्यांशद्वयं पूरकं रेचकं च वर्णयित्वा कुम्भकं निरूपयन्नाह—

"कन्यकादिक्रमवशात् प्राणायामनिरोधनम्" (37.27ab) इति।

अत्र 'कन्यकः' इति निकृष्टतरः प्राणायामः द्वादशमात्रात्मककुम्भकविशिष्टः प्रतिपाद्यते। प्रकृते "प्राणायामनिरोधनं" इति पदस्य अर्थबोध एव न भवति। सुगमं संशोधनं तु "प्राणानामनिरोधनं" विरुद्धमर्थं बोधयति। यतः, कुम्भके प्राणनिरोधः कर्तव्यो भवति। अतः "प्राणानां संनिरोधनं" इति संशोध्यमाने अर्थसंगतिः स्यात्।

अत्रैव कुम्भकस्य तृतीये प्रकारे वर्णनीये एवं श्लोकार्धः—

"उत्तमस्तु त्रिरुद्घातः षड्विंशन्मात्रकः परः" (37. 29a) इति।

तत्र कन्यकः कनीयान् द्वादशमात्रः, मध्यमः द्विरुद्घातः—द्विगुणितः चतुर्विंशतिमात्रकः। तथा चोत्तमः त्रिरुद्घातः—त्रिगुणितः—षट्त्रिंशन्मात्रकः आवश्यकः। एवं च षड्विंशन्मात्रकः "इति स्थाने" षट्त्रिंशन्मात्रकः इति

शोधनं अपरिहार्यं भवति ।

३८तमेऽध्याये योगान्तरायान् निरूप्य तेषां स्वरूपं प्रतिपादयन्नाह—

"आलस्यमलसत्वं तु योगिनां देहचेतनोः" (38. 3 a b) इति ।

अत्र समासे "चेतन" इति पदं कमप्यर्थं न बोधयति। चेतनोरिति विभक्तिरप्यसंगतैव। अतश्च "चेतनोः" इति स्थाने "चित्तयोः" इति शोधने वृत्ते अर्थस्योपपत्तिः भवति । योगिनां देहस्य चित्तस्य च यदलसत्वं तस्यैवालस्यमिति संज्ञा । एवं च "चेतनोः" इति पाठे "चित्तयोः" इति शोधनमावश्यकम् ।

अत्रैव योगसिद्धिनिरूपणे आह—

"कृशता स्थूलता बाल्यं वार्द्धक्यं चैव यौवनं ।
नानाचातिस्वरूपं च चतुर्णां देहधारणम्" (38. 18) इति ।

अत्र पद्ये योगी योगजसामर्थ्येन यथेच्छं बालरूपं वा तारूण्यं वा वृद्धरूपं वा गृहीतुं प्रभवति । तद्वदेव विविधजातिरूपं नाम पक्षिस्वरूपं मृगादिपशुरूपं गन्धर्वादिस्वरूपं च धारयितुं क्षमते । एवं च प्रकरणानुसारेण "नानाचातिस्वरूपम्" इत्यत्र "नानाजातिस्वरूपमि"ति शोधनमावश्यकम् ।

तत्रैव योगिनः स्थितिविशेषं वर्णयन्नाह——"न तिष्ठेच्छिष्टलोचनः" (38. 56ab) इति । अत्र तु "शिष्ट" इति पदं न कमपि प्रकरणानुकूलं बोधयति अर्थम् । अतः "शिष्ट" इति स्थाने "श्लिष्ट" इति पाठः स्वीकार्यः । तथा च नेत्रे निमील्य तिष्ठेत् इत्यर्थः भवति स च प्रकरणसंगतः ।

बहिर्योगापेक्षया अन्तर्योगस्य वैशिष्ट्यं महत्त्वं च निरूपयितुं ग्रन्थकृदाह—

"बहिस्करा यथा लोके नातीव फलभोगिनः ।
दृष्ट्वा नरेन्द्रभवने तद्वदत्रापि कर्मिणः । (39. 32) इति ।

अत्र पद्येऽशुद्धिद्वयम् । तत्र प्रथममशुद्धं "बहिस्करा" इति। अत्र तु अर्थानुसारेण "बहिश्चरा" इत्येवं पदमावश्यकम् । तेन च यथा राज्ञः सेवकेषु प्रासादात् बहिः राजकार्ये व्यापृतः सेवकः न कमपि सुखविशेषमनुभवति इति प्रकरणोपयुक्तः अर्थः सिध्यति । तथैव "दृष्ट्वा" इति त्वान्तं परित्यज्य "दृष्टा" इति निष्ठान्तं स्वीकरणीयम् ।

अत्रैव प्रकरणे योगभ्रष्टस्य स्थितिं वर्णयति—

यद्यन्तरा विपद्यन्ते ज्ञानयोगार्थमुद्यतः ।
योगस्योद्योगमात्रेण रुद्रलोकं गमिष्यति ॥ (39. 33) इति ।

अत्र समग्रे श्लोके एकवचनं प्रयुक्तम् । ततश्च "विपद्यन्ते" इत्यत्रापि एकवचनेनैव भाव्यम् । तत्रापि लटः स्थाने विधिलिङ्गः प्रयोगः श्रेयान् । तेन च "विपद्यन्ते" इति पाठे "विपद्येत" इति शुद्धं पाठं स्वीकृत्य अर्थसंगमनं कर्तव्यम् ।

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE DATE OF THE BENGAL RECENSION OF THE UTTARA-KHAṆḌA OF THE PADMA-PURĀṆA.

BY

ASOKE CHATTERJEE

[पद्मपुराणस्य मुद्रितो देवनागरीपाठोऽस्य वंगपाठाद् भिद्यते इति तु सुविदितम्। परन्तु पद्मपुराणोत्तरखण्डस्य देवनागरीवंगपाठयोरपि महान् भेदो वर्त्तंते। देवनागरीपाठात्मकं पद्मपुराणस्योत्तरखण्डं तु मुद्रितं वर्त्तंते, तस्य च आनन्दाश्रमसंस्करणे २८२ अध्याया वर्त्तन्ते, परन्तु वंगपाठात्मकमुत्तरखण्डं वंगकोशेष्वेव प्राप्यते। षट्सु वंगकोशेषु चोत्तरखण्डस्य १७२ अध्याया एव प्राप्यन्ते। उत्तरखण्डस्य वंगकोशानामन्तःसाक्ष्यमाश्रित्य तस्य रचनाकालप्राचीनत्वादिविषयको विचारोऽत्र प्रस्तुतः।

उत्तरखण्डस्य वंगपाठे वैष्णवमतविरोधिनः कस्यचित् चित्रसेननाम्नः शैवराज्ञः कथा वर्त्तंते, इयं च कथा ११३३ ईसवीयाब्देऽभिषिक्तस्य द्वितीयकुलोत्तंगचोलस्य वृत्तान्तमनुकरोतीत्यनुमातुं शक्यते। पुनश्चात्र, गाणपत्य-रामानुजीय-राधावल्लभीयसम्प्रदायानामुल्लेखोऽपि वर्त्तंते। राधावल्लभीयः सम्प्रदायश्च अनुमानतः १५८५ ईसवीयाब्दे स्थापित आसीत्। अतोऽस्य वंगपाठीयोत्तरखण्डस्य रचनाकालः सप्तदश्याः शताब्द्या उत्तरभागः स्यादिति लेखकमहोदयस्य मतम्।]

It is now an established fact that the Devanāgarī recension of the Padma-purāṇa differs a good deal in both matter and form from the Bengal recension of it. The Uttara-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa which is an extensive and bulky mass added at a later period to the Padma-purāṇa has also its wide difference between the Devanāgarī and Bengal recensions of it. Only the Devanāgarī recension of the Padma-purāṇa which is printed and published has got as much as 282 chapters,[1] where-as the six manuscripts of the Bengal recension of it, which we have consulted give only 172 chapters as its contents.[2] If the Devanāgarī recension of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa has been added at a comparatively late period the compilation and addition of the Bengal recension of it is later even and in the present paper we would try to focuss our attention at the age and antiquity of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa.

---

[1] See Anss ed. of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa.

It has already been pointed out that the Bengal recension of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa has not yet been printed and we have to depend entirely on the evidences of its manuscripts to ascertain its date ; and as external evidence will not be of much help for our purpose, we will have to take recourse to internal evidence.

In these manuscripts, there are frequent references to the Mahābhārata[3], Gītā[4] and Bhāgavata-purāṇa[5], and there is also mention of purāṇa, upa-purāṇa, āgama-tantra-śāstra pañcarātra-saṃhitā, jāmala etc.[6] These manuscripts betray knowledge of Rādhā, the female consort of Kṛṣṇa, and are acquainted with the combined mantra of the two, i.e. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.[1] It very often eulogises the sacred Tulasī plant and betrays knowledge of the pañcāyatana pūjā i.e. the worship of the five deities of which Gaṇapati has been referred to as the central deity of the Gāṇapatya sect,[2] which, it is admitted, came into being at a comparatively late period.[3] It knows the Rāmānuja sect and mentions it more than once.[4]

---

[2] Mss. No. G. 4416 and 4493 belonging to the Asiatic Society. Calcutta; Ms. No. 1429 (Kha) of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta ; Ms. No. 1624 of the Dacca University ; Ms. No. Cod. iii of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and also the Mss. belonging to the National Library, Calcutta, which is not numbered. The last Ms. has 173 chapters. See Colophon 'Ityādipadma-purāṇe uttara-khaṇḍe phala-śrutir-nāma tri-saptatyadhika-śatatamodyāyaḥ. Samāptam-idam-uttara-khaṇḍaṃ padma-purānañca.

[3] See Ms. No. G 4416 belonging to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Ch. 102, f. 234 a.

[4] na vā gītā-samam-itihāsaṃ sarvvañca bhāratam
durgāyai yat śiven-oktaṃ gītā-māhātmyamuttamam
vividh-opākhyāna-yutaṃ vaikuṇṭha-prāpakaṃnṛpa
ch. 165, f. 340 b.

Moreover there are the glorifications of each chapter of the Gītā.

[5] tatra prapūjayed-enaṃ vidhiṃ bhāgavataṃ śukam ch. 73, f. 170
yasy-eṣṭaṃ śrī-bhāgavataṃ śāstraṃ śrī-bhagavān hariḥ
bhāgavatya samaṃ lakṣmyā bhaktyā bhāgavatasya saḥ
ch. 99 f. 223 a

aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni dṛṣṭāni ca śrutāni ca
teṣāṃ madhye bhāgavataṃ sarvaṃ vaiṣṇavam-ucyate
ch. 112 f. 263 b. etc. etc.

[6] śruti-smṛti-purāṇ-opapurāṇeṣv-āgameṣu-ca
saṃhitā-tantra-śāstreṣu girije jāmalādiṣu
pañcarātrādiṣv-apīha.................................. ch. 43, f. 86b
vaiṣṇavī-saṃhitā tantraṃ yāmalaṃ pañcarātrakam. ch. 58, f. 121a

Its late date can further be proved from an interesting episode dealt with in it. This episode has some historical value which can hardly be overlooked. We give it in nutshell below.

In ancient days in Drāviḍa in the region of the Southern sea, there ruled a king named Citrasena. He was very much powerful and was skilled in the use of śastra and astra. He was very much pious, ardent follower of Vedic rites, performed many sacrifices, gave a vast amount of wealth as Dakṣiṇā and charity and received a number of guests everyday.[5]

As days passed by, some Pāṣaṇḍins came to him and tried to influence him with the ideologies of the Āgamic Śaivas.

---

[1] Rādhā has been eulogised in Ch. 104 (f.239) and Chapters 162-163 (Fols. 333a-337b) speak of the birth of Rādhā, her glorification etc. Rādhāṣṭami has also been mentioned in Ch. 165 (f. 341).

Vṛndāvaneśayo rādhā–kṛṣṇayoḥ // ch. 76, F. 165b.
tataḥ śivaḥ pinākena mukhena madhura–svaram /
gānaṃ sa pañcamaṃ cakre rādhā–kṛṣṇeti maṇḍanam //
etc. etc.

[2] śāktaṃ sauraṃ gāṇapatyaṃ yāga-homādikaṃ tathā
ch., 43 f. 87
saurāṇāṃ gāṇapatyānāṃ śāktānāṃ bhūrimāninām
ch. 100, f. 227a
śaivāḥ saurā gāṇapatyā vrātyā govinda–nindakāḥ
etc. etc. ch. 104, f. 240b

Chapter 107 (f. 247a-249b) deals with the details of Gaṇapati worship among others.

[3] See R. C. Hazra, 'Gaṇapati–worship and the Upa-purāṇas dealing with it' in the Journal of the Gangānath Jha Research Institute, Vol. V, pp. 268–276.

[4] tathā bhaktiḥ ṣoḍaśadhā kathitā yatnato mayā /
śrī–mad–rāmānuja–dīkṣā–vidhānaṃ vidhi–pūrvakam // ch. 78, f. 171b.

[5] yajñānānā–vidhāstena kṛtā hi bahu–dakṣiṇāḥ /
nityaṃ dānaṃ parasyaiva nityaṃcātithi–pūjanam // ch. 15, f. 37a.

They spoke highly of their creed and used filthy language in belittling other sects. Ultimately they were able to bring the king into their own fold. The king, being pleased, gave them villages, elephants, horses, gold and jewels and began to act according to their advice. He at once renounced the Vedic rites, began to blame the Brahmins, Smṛtis and Vedas. The sacred fire inside his fire-chamber became extinguished gradually. All his royal officers followed the path shown by the Pāṣaṇḍins. They kept matted locks on their heads and besmeared their bodies with sacred ashes. Censure of Viṣṇu became prevalent in his kingdom. The king proclaimed that one who would read or utter the name of Viṣṇu in his country was punishable and capital punishment would be given to him. The devoted Vaiṣṇavas among his subjects being afraid, migrated from his kingdom to other countries. Some Drāviḍa subjects began to keep long matted hair and besmear their bodies with holy ashes. They gave up their Vedic rites, did no more accord welcome to the guests, no longer paid a high regard to the vratas, penance or charity and began to follow evil ways.[1] There was no sacrificial mantra ever sounded in his country. No body worshipping Viṣṇu was found. The king as well as his subjects freely cast blame on the name of Viṣṇu. All the Viṣṇu-temples and worship-houses were uprooted and all the Vaiṣṇava idols were thrown away to the waters of the sea.[2]

In this way the King was dissuaded from the right path of Dharma and along with his subjects became cruel, pitiless and ruthless. Henceforth, 'adharma' gained a permanent footing in his kingdom, on account of which the clouds did no more pour ; hence the towns and villages did not prosper and the Drāviḍa people had to depend entirely on waters from the rivers. The brahmins, their means of maintenance of livelihood being lost, adopted the tree-planting business.[3] They lost their usual respect. Nobody paid any tax or revenue to the king who was devoid of any customary rites, sacrificial fire and social or moral law and order ; and this king after his death had to undergo severe punishments.[1]

---

[1] kumārga-niratā-bhavan, ch. 15, f. 38b.

[2] utkhātā vaiṣṇavāḥ śaivāḥ prāsādas-tatra ye sthitāḥ /
vaiṣṇava-pratimāḥ sarvvāḥ prakṣiptāḥ sāgarāmbhasi // ch. 15, f. 38b.

[3] Vṛkṣān-āropya vartante brāhmaṇā vṛtti-pīḍitāḥ. ch. 15, f. 38 b.

There is a tradition about Kulottuṅga Cola II, the famous emperor of the Cola dynasty, that he being a staunch supporter of Śaivism, gave some spasmodic outburst of anti-vaiṣṇava feeling. He was a fanatic Śaiva who wanted to upset the time-honoured disposition of the images of Śiva and Viṣṇu[2] From this it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the author came later than the king whose such activities he had either seen or heard and utilising its kernel he went on fabricating the story of glorification of Viṣṇu by presenting a sorrowful picture of the adherents of Śaivism in their after life. Kulottuṅga Cola I ascended the throne in 1070 A.D.[3] and Kulottuṅga II in 1133 A.D.[4] The Bengal recension of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa appears, therefore, later than this.

Its date in the present form can be pushed farther. On an analysis it can be detected that the influence of the Rādhā-vallabhins is not rare in this work.[5] We know that the Rādhā-vallabhins are quite a modern sect, founded by Hari-vaṃśa in about 1585 A.D.[6] Thus it can be safely said that the Uttara-Khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension was composed in about the 2nd half of the seventeenth century. Ratnākarakandali's 'Sahasranāma-vṛittānta' has for its source the Devanāgarī recension of the Padma.purāṇa[7] and not the Bengal counterpart.

---

[1] See Uttara-khaṇḍa, 250, 10 f. for his sufferings after death.

[2] Nilkanta Shastri, Colas, p. 348.

[3] S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, 'Early History of Vaishnavism in South India', p. 33.

[4] Nilkanta Shastri, Colas, p. 348.

[5] tad-rādhā-vallabhīyaṃ yad-dhari-pāda-kṛtaṃ samam
tad-rādhā-vallabhiyaṃ yad-dhari-mandiram īritam
śrī-mad-rādhā-vallabhīyaṃ yat-tilakaṃ su-manoharam
ch. 99, f. 224 b.

yad-rādhā-vallabhīyaṃ tu tilakaṃ su-manoharam
etc. etc. ch. 106, f. 246 a.

[6] J.N. Farquhar, 'Outline of the Religious literature of India, p. 318.

[7] See. 'Aspects of Early Assamese Literature' (Gen. ed. B. K. Kakati) p. 290.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNIC DATA IN THE MATSYA-PURĀṆA

BY

S. G. KANTAWALA

[अत्र मत्स्यपुराणस्य भौगोलिकसामग्र्या अकारादिवर्णानुक्रमेण विस्तृता सूची प्रस्तूयते । आधुनिकैर्विद्वद्भिर्निर्मिताः प्राचीनभारतस्य भूगोलशास्त्रविषयका वहवो ग्रन्था इदानीं प्राप्यन्ते । तेषु ग्रन्थेषु ग्रन्थकारैर्भूगोलसम्बन्धिनी पुराणसामग्र्यपि विनियुक्ता दृश्यते। पुराणेषु भौगोलिको विषयः प्राचीनेतिहासेन पौराणिकैराख्यानैश्च संकीर्णं उपलभ्यते । मत्स्यपुराणेऽपीयमेव स्थितिः । भूगोलविषये मत्स्यपुराणं वायुपुराणमेवानुसरति, वायुपुराणं च मत्स्यपुराणात् प्राचीनतरमिति केचिद् विद्वांसो मन्यन्ते । अन्ये पुनः, मत्स्यपुराणमेव वायुपुराणस्य भौगोलिकसामग्र्या मूलमिति कथयन्ति । पुराणप्रोक्तानां प्रदेशानां जनपदानां च स्थित्यादिविषयेऽपि विप्रतिपत्तिर् विद्यते विदुषाम् । तथाप्यत्र लेखकमहोदयेन मत्स्यपुराणकथितानाम् भौगोलिकप्रदेशानां जनपदानां नद्यादीनां च वर्तमानकालीनैः प्रदेशादिभिः सह अभेदस्थापने सप्रमाणं स्वविचाराःप्रस्तुताः ।]

There is a vast literature on the geography of ancient India[1], which occasionally takes notice of the Purāṇic material. As regards the identification of places it is found that there is,

---

[1] Vide e.g. Law B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India; he has also given a long bibliography (*ibid.* pp. 53-60); Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India; Dey N. L., Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India; Ray Chaudhuri H.C., Studies in Indian Antiquities; Patil D.R., Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, pp. 241 ff.; Chaudhuri S. B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India; Sircar D. C., Text of the Purāṇic List of Rivers, IHQ. Vol. XXVII. No. 3, September 1951; Sircar D. C., Text of the Purāṇic List of Peoples, IHQ. Vol. XXI, 1945; Sircar D. C., The Śākta Pīṭhas, JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, 1948. Incidentally, the editions of the following Purāṇas referred to by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his article on *Śākta Pīṭhas* are also referred to in the course of this article—

(1) Devibhāgavata :	Vaṅgavāsī ed.	(Book II. Ch. 30, verses 55-83).
(2) Padma Purāṇa :	,, ,,	Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa, Ch. 17, verses 184-211.
(3) Skanda Purāṇa :	,, ,,	Avantikhaṇḍa, Revākhaṇḍa, Ch. 98, verses 64-92,

at times, no consensus of opinion on this point. It is well-known that the geographical data in the Purāṇas are conglomeration of historical as well as mythological material and the MP is no exception to this general feature.

"The text of (the geographical portion of) the *Matsya Purāṇa* possesses no independent value and is plainly a repetition of the *Vāyu*. The *Matsya* text has no omissions, variations and embellishments of its own, but is only a reproduction of the *Vāyu* text. The list of the western tribes and peoples as given in the *Matsya Purāṇa* is slightly irregular, because the *Matsya* has omitted the first twelve names of the *Vāyu* and so the thirteenth name in the list of the latter gets the first place in the list of the *Matsya Purāṇa*...The accounts of the *Matsya Purāṇa* was manifestly of a later date than the *Vāyu* which raises the presumption that the former has been copied from the latter".[1] However according to Dr. D. C. Sircar, the original draft of the geographical section seems to have been compiled for the MP and the VP text appears to be the earliest copy from that of the MP.[2] The geographical and ethnic data are enlisted here with a view to making available the geographical and ethnic material of this Purāṇa. So as to serve as a ready reference, the material is arranged in the alphabetical order.[3] An attempt is made here to identify them as far as possible.

[1] Chaudhuri S. B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p. 14.

[2] Sircar D.C., Text of the Purāṇic List of Peoples, IHQ, XXI, 1945, p. 299.

[3] "The persistence of ethnic features in the geographical system was nowhere more clearly expressed than in ancient India. A good many of the countries of ancient India bore the impress of tribal ethnic names, for the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas and astronomical works which embody the greater part of ancient Indian geographical texts, and consequently form the chief sources of our subject, represent India as being inhabited by several tribes or peoples who gave their names to the particular regions where they settled...(Chaudhuri S. B., op. cit., Introduction, p. XIII)...In early traditions which are authentic and professedly geographical as in the Purāṇas geographical names occur in the form of tribal or ethnic names, and so, like all early geography, the locality or country was known by the plural of the tribal name." (*ibid*, XIV). Hence the data are not divided into two sections (i) geographical and (ii) ethnic.

1. Ābhīra : It is the northern *deśa* of Bhāratavarṣa. This is known after its people (114.40). Ten Ābhīras are predicted to be kings in future (273.18). In the MārP the Ābhīra country is also mentioned as the northern one of Bhāratavarṣa [57.35, Pargiter F. E., Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, English Translation (= Tr), p. 312]. They are the modern Ahiras. They lived to the north of the Rajputana desert. Dr. D.C. Sircar proposes to think, here, of Abirvān between Herat and Kandahar which might have been the original home of the Ābhīras. (*ibid*, IHQ. XXI, p. 302; Vide also Sircar D.C., the Successors of the Sātavāhanas (1939), pp. 242f.; Law B. C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, pp. 275-276; Chaudhuri S. B., *ibid*, pp. 45-46; Pargiter F. E., Tr, pp. 312-313 notes; Patil D. R., Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, pp. 241-242).

2. Acchoda (1) : The goddess Śivakāriṇī is worshipped here (13.49). It is modern Acchavat in Kashmir (Sircar D.C., *ibid.*, JBBRAS, 1948, p. 80).

3. Acchoda (2) : This lake was built by the manes (14.3. cf. Harivaṁśa 1.18.27 ; Devī-Bhāgavata 6.12. 10-11). This is situated near the Candraprabha mountain and is the source of the river Acchodā on the bank of which there is a forest Caitraratha by name (121. 7-8). (Vide also Kane P.V., HDS, Vol. IV. p 730). Bāṇa gives a beautiful description of the Acchoda lake in his Kādambarī (Peterson's Edition, pp. 76 to 124 ; ed. by R. D. Karmarkar, 2nd edition, 1942, pp. 97-101).

4. Acchodā (v. l. Akṣodā, *ga*) : It is a river rising from the Acchodaka lake (Kane P.V., *ibid* p, 730). She is the mindborn daughter of the Agniṣvātta *pitṛs* and is said to have practised penance for one thousand divine years (14. 2-3). This is sacred to the *pitṛs* (22.23); vide s.v. Acchoda (2).

5. Acchodakā : After flowing through the central part of the earth this river meets the ocean (121. 9). It appears to be

the same as Acchodā; as RTri reads it as Acchodā (*op. sit.*, p. 281).

6. Ādityatīrtha : This is one of the holy places of Prayāga situated on the northern bank of the Yamunā (108. 29 ff). Now there is one Ādityatīrtha to be visited during the course of the *antarvedī* circumambulation of the city of Prayāga (Tk. p. 118); so this one of the Purāṇa may be identified with this.

7. Ādityāyatana : It is a holy place situated on the northern bank of the river Narmadā (191.77). Near Moti Koral there is a temple of Ādityeśvara installed by Āditya (Tk. p. 433). Can we connect this one mentioned in the MP with the one near Moti Koral ?

8. Ādityeśa : It is also a holy place situated on the Narmadā (191.5)

9. Agastyeśvara : This is also a holy place situated on the Narmadā (191. 15). On the northern bank of the river there is a place called Akteśvara, two miles from Raver. In Akteśvara there is a temple of Agastyeśvara, and here Agastya is said to have inhibited the rise of Vindhya (Tk. 431). So Akteśvara and Agastyeśvara may be associated with the one mentioned in the MP.

10. Agnitīrtha : This *tīrtha* is situated on the southern bank of the Yamunā in Prayāga. (103.27). This is to be visited on the second day during the *bahirvedī* circumambulation of Prayāga (Tk. p. 118), so this may be identified with it; (for other reference vide Kane P. V. HDS Vol. IV p. 731.)

11. Agastyagṛha : It is situated on the Kuñjara mountain. (163. 79). Now, there is an ancient shrine of Agastya about one mile from Akola in Nagara district beyond Pravara river (Kane P. V., ibid., Vol. IV, p. 730).

12. Ahalyātīrtha : It is situated on the river Narmadā. Here Ahalyā practised penance and obtained liberation. She is worshipped on the fourteenth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra on the Kāmadeva day (191.90). In Bhalod

there is a temple of Ahalyeśvara (Tk. p. 433 ; Majamundar M. R., Revā ne Tire Tire, p. 201), with which this holy place may be identified. The festival of Cupid (*Kāmadevasya mahaḥ*) is referred to in Bāṇa's Kādambarī (*Uttarabhāga*, ed. by P. V. Kane. (1913), p. 115). Dr. P. V. Kane remarks that it was usual to celebrate the festival of Kāma at the advent of spring. According to some, the festival was held on the full moon day in Caitra ; according to others on the 12th or 13th of bright half of Caitra" (*ibid* Notes p. 365). He quotes the following stanza : द्वादश्यां चैत्रमासस्य शुक्लायां मदनोत्सवः । बौधायनादिभिः प्रोक्तः कर्तव्यः प्रतिवत्सरम् ॥ (*ibid*, p. 365). Dr. V. S. Agrawala remarks that this was celebrated on the 5th day of the bright half of Māgha (Kādambarī, Eka Sāṁskṛtika-Adhyayana, p. 384).

13. Airaṇḍī (1) : It is a *tīrtha* on the Narmadā (193.65). In Broach there is one Airaṇḍītīrtha near Dhūtapāpa (Tk. p. 436), with which this may be connected.

14. Airaṇḍī (2) : It is a tributary of the Narmadā and a place on its confluence is believed to be holy (191. 42-45). This refers to the confluence of the Eraṇḍī at a village called Suvarṇa Sitā on the northern bank of the Narmadā, opposite Anasūyātīrtha (Tk. p. 436), whereas the confluence referred to in 194.32 refers to the confluence of the Airaṇḍī and the Narmadā at Kolyad one mile from Baingani.

15. Airāvatī : s. v. Bhārata. Dr. D. C. Sircar reads *Irāvatī* instead of *Airāvatī* and identifies it with the modern Rāvī which was known to the classical writers as Hydrastes (*op. cit.*, IHQ. XXVI, No. 3, p. 216). This is also known as Aciravatī or Ajiravatī, which is identified with the modern Rapti in Oudh on the western bank of which stood the ancient city of Śrāvasti, the third or last capital of Kośala (Law B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63). The beautiful description of this river also known as Haimavatī is given in Ch. 116. While enjoying the maddening beauty of this river, Purūravas is said to behold the Himavat mountain

(117-1), which suggests its association with the Himalayas (*cf*. Law B. C., *op. cit*., p. 83).

16. Akṣayavaṭa : It is one of the holy spots of Prayāga (104. 10 ; 106. 4, 11 ; 110. 11). (Vide Gode P.K., The History of Akṣayavaṭa (Undecaying Banyan Tree) at Prayāga and Gayā as Revealed by some Sanskrit Texts-Between the First century A. D. and 1900., ABORI, XXXVIII, Pts. I-II, pp. 82-92 ; also TK, p. 117).

17. Alakā : Kubera is said to be the lord of Alakā city (121. 3). It is "now supposed to be lying near the Bhāgīrathī and Satopanth glaciers at the height of 12,860 ft. about a couple of miles west of Vasudhārā-Falls beyond Badrinath". (Pandya G. B., Geographical Data in the Meghadūta, Meghadūta, p. 18.)

18. Alambhūṣa (v.1. Alambudha-*ga*, Alambaka—*ṅa*.) The performance of *śrāddha* is recommended here (22.51). Acc. to the Rāmāyaṇa the city of Vaiśālī was founded by a prince of Ikṣvāku and a celestial nymph Alambuṣā (vide Law B. C., *op. cit*., p. 266). Does the word Alambhūṣa have any relation with Alambuṣā ?

19. Alampura : Here the performance of *śrāddha* is recommended (22.50). Ālāpura is said to be the seat of Yugalā and Dr. D. C. Sircar remarks that Ālāpura is "possibly a mistake for Elāpura", (*op. cit*., JBBRAS. Vol. XIV. p. 81). Can one associate Alampura with Elāpura i. e. Ālāpura ?

20. Amaragaṇḍika : It is situated by the side of the Gandhamādana mountain. It is 32,000 *yojanas* in extent. This is an abode of the valorous Ketumāla-people. The women-folk are very beautiful. They enjoy a very long span of life (113. 48 ff).

21. Amarakaṇṭaka : This is a mountain around which there are crores of Rudras installed. Śiva is pleased with him who worships him with incense, flowers etc. At the western end of this mountain, Śiva is said to reside in person. If a person, being pure and continent, offers a *śrāddha* to

his ancestors with due rites, he liberates his seven ascendants and descendants combined, and after his death he enjoys celestial pleasures and is waited upon by Siddhas and Cāraṇas in company of nymphs for a period of 60.000 years. Afterwards he is reborn with a silver spoon in his mouth etc. Here the gods, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas* and sages congregate on the Narmadā. A visit, here, on specific days or its very remembering enables one to acquire merit of various types. It abounds in tigers and animals. Its extent is one *yojana*. (181. 26 ; 186. 16 *ff* ; 188.85 *ff*., missing in *ṅa*). A bath, here, is believed to be hundred times more beneficial than that at Kurukṣetra (22.28). This hill is a part of the Mekala hills in Gondwana in the territory of Nagpur (for details vide Law B. C., *op. cit*., p. 303). Vide also s.v. Kaliṅgadeśa.

22. Amardaka : (v.l. Ānandaka-*ga*, Ārkaṇḍaka-*ṅa*). The performance of *śrāddha* is recommended here (22.51). It is so called because sins are crushed here (*āmardeyāni pāpāni tasmād Āmardakaṃ matam*, Tīrthasāra pp. 21-30, referred to by Dr. Kane P.V., *op. cit*, p 732). This is a *Śivakṣetra* having a *jyotirliṅga*. In the different four *yugas* it was respectively known as Jyotirmaya, Mukti, Sparśa and Nāgeśvara (Tīrthasāra, p. 22) Dr. Kane alludes, here to the temple of Nāganātha, and remarks that it is probably the same as Avandhyā Nāganātha about 25 miles north-east of Parabhaṇī in the Hyderabad State (Kane P. V., *op. cit*, p. 732).

23. Amareśa : The *māhātmya* of this place is believed to be capable of destroying sins (186.2). This is one of the holy spots of Oṁkāra-Māndhātā, region, (For details, vide Tk, pp. 230-233). It is on the southern bank of the Narmadā, opposite Oṁkāreśvara and to the north-east of Khandwa (Sircar D. C., *op. cit*., JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p. 81).

24. Ambara : The goddess Viśvakāyā is worshipped here (13.27). It is modern Amber in the Jaipura state, Rajputana. (Sircar D. C., *op. cit*., JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p. 81).

25. Ambaṣṭha : It was the capital of Suvrata's kingdom (48.21). The Abastanoi corresponded to the Sanskrit Ambaṣṭhas (Law B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 61; Chaudhuri S. B., *op cit.*, p. 91, 191-192). The country of the Ambaṣṭhas was situated on the lower Chenab [Law B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 65; Agrawala V. S., India as known to Pāṇini (=IP), p. 53].

26. Āmbikeya : (v. l. Ambikeśa—RTri, *op. cit.*, pp. 285, 286). s. v. Śākadvīpa.

27. Amohaka : This is also known as Brahmatīrtha where the offering of *piṇḍas* on the *gajaśilā* is highly extolled (191.104 ff). There is a *pitṛtīrtha* named Dharmaśālā on the northern bank of the Narmadā (Tk. p. 438). Taking into account the geographical order as well as its being a *pitṛtīrtha*, it may be connected with Dharmaśālā.

28. Āmrātakeśvara : (v.l Tāmranākeśvara-*ña*). The performance of *śrāddha* is recommended here (22. 51). In the description of the Avimukta-*māhātmya* it is said to be sacred because of Śiva's presence (181. 28). Elsewhere it is said to be on the Narmadā (190. 5). Now there is a village Maccha by name on the southern bank of the Narmadā and it is five miles from Tedoni-*saṅgama*.. This is known as Bilvāmraka Tīrtha as well as Rāmaghāṭa. Here takes place the Kubjā-*saṅgama* (Tk. p. 229). Can this holy place of the MP be connected with Bilvāmraka tīrtha, (note here the common part—*āmra* in both the words, of course this is a slender ground) ?

29. Amṛta : s. v. Śākadvīpa.

30. Ānandaka : s. v. Śākadvīpa. According to the Mar. P. (53.39) Ānanda was the name of the country named after Medhātithi's son Ānanda, the lord of Plakṣadvīpa.

31: Anarakatīrtha : It is situated on the Narmadā (193.1). There are temples of Anarkeśvara and Saṅgameśvara at the confluence of the Narmadā and the Madhumatī near Motasanja which is two miles from Uchadia (Tk. p. 437), so this *tīrtha* may be located in the Motasanja-area.

32. Ānarta : s. v. Bhārata. This was founded by Śaryāti's son Ānarta (12.22). In 43.49 he is mentioned as Vītihotra's son. Ānarta is mentioned along with Surāṣṭra (114.51). In the Junagadh rock-inscription of Rudradāman, the two ancient divisions of Kathiawar viz. Ānarta and Surāṣṭra are mentioned. Ānarta corresponds to the Halar division of Kathiawar (Chaudhury S. B., *op. cit.*, p. 153). According to some, Ānarta is north Gujarat (Shastri K. K., गुजरात वाङ्मयमां गुजरात ना भौगोलिक उल्लेखो नो आरंभ, Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXII, No. 4/88, October 1960, p. 372), whereas according to some others, it is situated round Vadnagar which was known as Ānandapura (Law B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 276). In the opinion of Dr. D. C. Sircar it is a district round Dvārakā (*op. cit.*, IHQ. XXI, p. 310).

33. Andhaka : s. v. Bhārata. They were a branch of the Yādava tribe and possibly lived originally not far from Mathurā. Later they appear to have migrated towards Kathiawar (Sircar D. C., *op. cit.*, IHQ. XXI, p. 301).

34. Andhakāra (oka) : s. v. Krauñcadvīpa.

35. Āndhraka : They were killed by Pramati in the *sandhyā* period of the Kali age of the Svāyambhuva-*manvantara* (144.58). The Andhra country is the present Telugu country (Law B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 143). It comprised the eastern portion of Nizam's territory with its capital at Warangal and another capital at Dhenukākata which is Dharanikota near Amarāvatī (Pargiter F.E., Tr. p. 337; vide also Law B. C., *op. cit.*)

36. Anekakarṇa : The river Hlādinī flows through this land. (121.53). *ga* and Dr. D. C. Sircar read *uṣṭrakarṇa* and "Alberuni explains Uṣṭrakarṇas as a people whose lips are turned like their ears, possibly through a confusion of the word *uṣṭra* with *oṣṭra*" (*op. cit.*, IHQ. Vol. XXVII, No. 3., p. 236).

37. Aṅga: This is an eastern Aryan *janapada* and the Ganges flows through it (121.50). Vide also s. v. Bhārata. This was one of the sixteen ancient *janapadas* (for details vide Law B. C., *op cit.*, pp. 42 ff., 204 ff.). "According to the Mbh, Aṅga may be supposed to have comprised the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and extended northwards upto the river Kosi. At one time the kingdom of Aṅga included Magadha and probably extended upto sea." (Law B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 43). According to Dr. D. C. Sircar, it is east Bihar (*op. cit.*, JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p. 8). According to MP 48.25,77 Aṅga was the *kṣetraja* son of Bali. With reference to this, Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri writes that "the legendary story of the five sons of Bali, namely, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, however, tends to prove the common but doubtful Aryan origin of this belt of eastern states." (*op. cit.*, p. 180 ; vide also fn. 1 on p. 180).

38. Aṅgabhūta: The performance of *śrāddha* is recommended here (22.51).

39. Aṅgalokya: This is a mountainous *janapada* watered by seven streams (vide s. v. Gaṅgā) and is inhabited by the Mlecchas (121.44). The Bombay ed. of the MarP (54.38) reads *aṅgalaṅkikāḥ*, while the Calcutta ed. of the same reads *harṣavardhanāḥ*. Pargiter does not accept either of these readings and proposes to read *utsava saṅketāḥ* ; (for details, vide Pargiter F.T, Tr., p. 319). The Raghuvaṃṣa (शरैरुत्सवसङ्केतान् स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान्। जयोदाहरणं बाह्वोर्गापयामास किन्नरान्॥ IV.78) places this hill-tribe "in the north-east of Kashmere on the Himalaya mountain". Raghuvaṃśa, Cantos I-V, ed. by Virkar V.B., Notes p. 172). Vide also Sircar D. C. *op. cit.*, IHQ. XXI, Note 30.

40. Aṅgāravāhikā: This is an excellent place where the offering of *śrāddha* is extolled (22. 35). *En passant* it may be mentioned that there is a village called Aṅgāra and it has been identified with Mangraon or its neighbour Sangraon (E. I. Vol. XXVI. Pt. VI, April, 1942, p. 245,

quoted by Dr. Law B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 209), but this appears to be a river, because the word is a feminine one and the succeeding names are also of the rivers ; cf. *Aṅgāravāhikā tadvan nadau tau Śoṇa-Ghargharau*, 22-35.

41. Aṅgāreśa : This is a *tīrtha* on the Narmadā (191.59). This may be identified with the temple of Aṅgāreśvara at Malsar (see Majamundar M. R., *op. cit.*, p. 194 ; Tk. p. 432-433).

42. Aṅgāreśvara : This is a holy place on the Narmadā (190.9). It is difficult to identify this place ; but if the *maṇḍūkapluti* is granted in the serial order of description, it may be linked up with Aṅgāreśvara, one mile from Nikora on the northern bank of the Narmadā, for here is a temple of Aṅgāreśvara (see Tk, p. 431.).

43. Anīcaka : s.v. Śākadvīpa.

44. Aṅkola : This is a holy place renowned for *piṇḍadāna* on the Narmadā (191. 118). One mile from Lāḍavā, there is a place called Nikorā on the northern bank. Here is one Aṅkolatīrtha (Tk, p. 438) which may be identified with this holy place.

45. Aṅkuśeśvara (v.l. Aṅkeśvara—*ṅa* & *ca*) : This is a holy place on the Narmadā (194-1). Can this be identified with the modern Ankleshwar near Broach ? [Vide Kantawala S. G.. the Narmadā-*māhātmya*, A study in Place-names, unpublished paper].

46. Antarnarmadā : s. v. Bhārata : It is the doab between the Mahī and the Narmadā (Sankalia H.D., Lāṭa, its historical and cultural significance, Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXII No. 4/88, Oct. 1960, p. 329).

47. Antargiri : s. v. Bhārata, Antargiri and Bahirgiri may be located towards the north of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) on the strength of the Mbh. (2. 27. 1-3) (Sircar D. C., *op. cit.* IHQ. Vol. XXI, p. 305) According to Pargiter F. E. it is in the Rajmahal hills in the district of Santal Parganas (Tr. p. 325 ; Law B. C., *op. cit.* pp. 255-256). According

to Dr. V. S. Agrawala, it is the heart of the Himalayas, i.e. the Himalayas proper (IP, p. 39 ; The Mahābhārata, A Cultural Commentary, ABORI. Vol. XXXVII, p. 8). According to Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, "The Antargirayas may be identified with the people living in the interior of the Rajmahal hills and Vahirgirayas with those living on the outskirts, perhaps some aboriginals of the Santal Parganas and Hazaribagh" (*op. cit.*, pp. 192-193).

48. Anu : Anu was the son of Yayāti and Śarmiṣṭhā (32-10). Anus appear as one of the five premier tribes of the Punjab viz. Pūru, Anus, Druhyus, Yadus and Turvaśus (Majumdar R. C. & Pusalkar A. D. (Ed.). The Vedic Age, p. 252, and also pp. 245, 247, 259, 274, 306).

49. Aparānta (-ntika) : s.v. Bhārata. These people were killed by Pramati in the *sandhyā*-period of the Kali-age (144.56). Aparānta had an extended as well as a restricted sense. It extended from Malabar to Sind. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar was the first to identify it with the western coast below Sahyādri. [Transactions of the Second International Congress of Orients (1874) p. 313 ;] Chaudhuri S. B., *op. cit.*, p. 55-56 ; Pargiter F. E., Tr., p. 313.]

50. Apatha : s. v. Bhārata. It is a Himalayan locality (Sircar, D. C., *op. cit.*, IHQ. Vol. XXI. p. 313). He reads *taṅgana* instead (*ibid*, p. 312). According to Pargiter, the reading *apatha* (MP. 114. 53) is erroneous (Tr. p. 346).

51. Apsareśatīrtha : This is a holy place on the Narmadā (194. 16). From the point of view of the geographical order, this may be associated with Alīkeśvara-temple, or be located round about Bisode (vide Tk. p. 438). If the Purāṇic place is associated with Apsarātīrtha near Jigor (vide Tk. p. 432), the geographical order is violated.

52. Ārattadeśa : The horses of this country are said to be the best (48.7). This is identified with Punjab (Chaudhuri S.B. *op cit.* p. 116 fn. 7). Kauṭilya notes that the breed of the horses Kamboja, Sindhus (modern Sindh), Āratta (western Punjab, Kane P. V., HDS, Vol. III, p. 149) and Vanāyu (north-west

of India, Kane P. V. *ibid*, p. 149) countries are the best of horses ; Bāhlīka (modern Balkh), Pāpeya, Sauvīra (eastern Sindh and western Rajputana, Kane P. V. *ibid*, p. 149) and Taittila breeds are of middle quality and the rest are inferior (Arthaśāstra 2. 30, Shamasastry's English Tr., p. 161).

53. Arbuda : The *śrāddha* offered here is believed to be very efficacious. (22. 38). This is modern Abu in Rajputana (*cf*. Sircar D. C., *op. cit*.,) IHQ. Vol. XXI, p. 310 ; Law B. C., *op. cit*., p. 304 ; Kane P. V., *op. cit*., p. 734). RTri takes Arbuda and Sarasvatī separately here (*op. cit*., p. 55)

54. Arbudasarasvatī : If Arbuda and Sarasvatī are not taken separately, it would read as Arbudasarasvatī which would be of course, sacred to manes (22. 38). (vide Pargiter's note on this, Tr. p. 288).

55. Arjuna : The performance of *śrāddha*, here, gives an everlasting fruit, and its very sight washes away the sins (22. 43-45).

56. Arunoda . This is a lake as well as a forest (113, 46).

57. Arūpa · s. v. Bhārata ; Dr. D. C. Sircar reads Arūpa instead, and points out that it was on the Narmadā with the city of Māhiṣmatī (modern Māndhātā in the Nimar district, C. P.) as its capital (*op. cit*., IHQ. Vol. XXI, p. 312). According to Pargiter the reading is erroneous (Tr. p. 344). (For Anūpa, vide also Chaudhuri s. v., *op. cit*., pp. 38, 70).

58. Āṣādhītīrtha : This is situated on the Narmadā (194. 30). There is an Āṣādhīśvara-temple at Kuja (Tk., p. 439). This *tīrtha* of the MP may be located here.

59. Asī : s. v. Varaṇā.

60. Asita : (v. l. Aśiva—*ga, ṅa, ca*) : s. v. Śākadvīpa.

61. Astagiri : s. v. Śākadvīpa.

62. Aśvamukha : s. v. Pāvanī, Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri is inclined to identify the Aśvamukhas with Tibetans on the ground that they, i.e. Tibetans, are living very close to India and such names e. g. aśvamukha, śvamukha, dīrghakeśa, cipiṭanāsika, dwell upon their physical ugliness (*op. cit.*, p. 126, fn. 4).

63. Aśvatīrtha : (v. l. Aśvitīrtha—*ga*, *ca*) : This is on the Narmadā (194. 3). This place is recommended for the purpose of charity and the offerers of *śrāddha*, here are believed to attain the highest abode (22.71-72). This may be identified with Aśvinautīrtha which is near Broach. Four miles from Broach there is a place called Jhaḍeśvara which is said to be the penance-grove of Aśvinīkumāras (Tk., pp. 436-437, vide also Kantawala S. G., op. cit.). Incidentally it may be mentioned that there is another Aśvatīrtha at the confluence of the Ganges and the Kālindī near Kanoj (Sircar D.C., *op. cit.*, JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p.82).

64. Aśvattha : The goddess Vandanīyā is worshipped here (13.51). Dr. D. C. Sircar does not identify it in his article 'The Śākta-Pīṭhas' (JBBRAS. Vol. XIV).

65. Āṭavya : s.v. Bhārata. Āṭavyas or Āṭavikas were probably the aboriginal tribes dwelling in the jungle-tracts of Central India (Law B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 276, Patil D. R., *op. cit.*, pp. 248-249).

66. Atri : s. v. Bhārata & Bharadvāja (for information vide Chaudhuri S. B., *op. cit.*, p. 134).

67. Aṭṭahāsa : The offering of *śrāddha*, here, enables one to attain the highest abode (22.68-72), It is near Labhpur in the Birbhum district, Bengal. (Sircar D. C., *op. cit.*, JBBRAS, Vol. XIV; Patil D. R., *op. cit.*, p. 249).

68. Aṭṭakhaṇḍika : It is the northern country of Bhāratavarṣa (114.40). In the opinion of Pargiter this lection is erroneous (Tr., p. 314). Dr. D. C. Sircar reads *carmakhaṇḍikāḥ* instead. The MarP (57.36) and the VP (45.115) also read *carmakhaṇḍika* (Pargiter F. E., Tr., p. 314 n).

They are the people of Samarkand (Sircar D. C., *op. cit.*, IHQ., Vol. XXI, p. 302, Pargiter F. E., Tr. *op. cit.*, p. 314n; vide also Patil D. R. *op. cit.*, p. 253).

69. Auṇḍra : s. v. Bhārata. As elsewhere, it is also, here, associated with Mekala and Utkala (Orissa). Auṇḍra is also known as Oḍḍaviṣaya, the country of the Oḍḍas, Oḍra(s) ; (Yoginītantra, 2.9. 214 ff), Odhrulu in Telugu, Oḍḍaru in Kanarese, and Uḍra in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, (14. 6). It is the U-cha of Hiuen-Tsang (Law B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 178).

70. Aurasa : The Sindhu flows through this land (121.46). The term *Aurasa* stands also for the people of Urasā the modern Hazara district (Sircar D. C., *op. cit.*, IHQ. Vol. XXI, p. 304, also *op. cit.* Vol. XXVII note 26 there).

71. Auśanasa : The offering of *śrāddha* is recommended here. (22-31). It is a renowned *tīrtha* on the Sarasvatī and it is the same as Kapālamocana, where Uśanas is said to have secured *siddhi* and became the planet Venus (Vāmana Purāṇa 39.1, 14 ; 42.24 ; Kane P. V., HDS, Vol. IV, p. 756).

72. Āvanta : s. v. Bhārata. The Āvanta group branched off from the Haihaya group (43.48). The Āvantas are apparently the same as the Avantis who lived in the west Malwa, and had their chief city at Ujjain (Sircar D. C., *op. cit.*, IHQ. Vol. XXI, p. 301, 302 ; Roy Chaudhuri, A.C., PH pp. 122-123 ; vide also Chaudhuri S. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff ; Law B. C., *op. cit*, p. 306, Patil D. R, *op. cit.*, p. 249).

73. Avanti : Āhuka got his sister Āhukā married to the king of Avantī (44.70). In this land in the Mahākāla forest, a battle between Siva and Andhaka took place in olden times (179.5). Vide s. v. Bhārata also. It was one of the 16 *mahājanapadas*, and it roughly corresponded to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the central provinces

(Law B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 52; Agrawala V. S., IP, p. 60). *En passant* it may also be mentioned that it is also the name of a river rising from the Pāriyātra (114.24). It rises near Mhow and flows into the Chambal (Sircar D.C., *op. cit.*, IHQ. Vol. XXVI, No. 3, p. 221, Law B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 304 ff; Patil D. R., *op. cit.*, p. 249).

74. Avantikā : The *śrāddha* performed, here, is said to be highly meritorious (22.33). This is the same as Avanti which is also the same as Ujjayinī (*cf.* Sircar D. C., *op. cit.*, JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p. 82; Pargiter F. E, Tr., p. 295). The BrP (4.40.9) also spells it as Avantikā (Law B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 304).

75. Avimukta : The east-west length is two *yojanas* and the north-south length is one half *yojana* (183.61 ff.). Elsewhere its east-west length is stated to be 2½ *yojanas* and the north-south length is ½ *yojana* (184.50-52). The very sight of this *tīrtha* is believed to destroy all sins (185.55). The chapters 180-185 sing the glory of Avimukta. It is the same as Kāśī or Vārāṇasī.

76. Ayodhyā-tīrtha : It is mentioned in a chapter on the Narmadā-*māhātmya* (191. 93). Vide s. v. Soma-tīrtha.

77. Ayodhyā : It is a beautiful city of Divākara of the solar dynasty in Madhyadeśa (271.5). It is modern Ayodhyā in Faizabad district, U. P. (vide Sircar D. C., *op. cit.*, JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p. 82; Law B. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff.).

78. Ayomukha : It is a mountain rich in minerals (163.71). According to Cunningham it was situated 30 miles south-west of Pratapgarh (C.A.S.R. XI. 68; AGI. 1, pp. 443 ff., 708; Law B.C., *op.cit.*, p. 69).

79. Ayoni-sambhava : It is a *tīrtha* on the Narmadā (191. 61); there is one Ayonijatīrtha at Malsar and *ayonija* Tijyānanda is said to have practised penance here (Tk, p. 423); hence it may be located at Malsar.

(*Incomplete*)

Some abbreviations used in this paper :—

Unspecified references as usual refer to the MP. thus 22.51 =MP 22.51

ABORI : Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

ASS : Anandāśrama-Sanskṛta-Series.

BrP : Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa

HDS : History of Dharmaśāstra

IHQ : Indian Historical Quarterly

JBBRAS : Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Mbh : Mahābhārata.

MP : Matsya-purāṇa, ASS. edition

MarP : Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

Tk : Tīrthāṅka of Kalyāṇa, January 1957

वामनपुराणस्यानुष्टुबतिरिक्तानां छन्दसामनुसन्धानम् ॥

ठाकुरप्रसाद शर्मा द्विवेदी

[In this article the writer has presented a study of the metres of the Vāmana-purāṇa ślokas. The Veṇkateśvara edition of this purāṇa contains about 6000 ślokas. Out of these, more than 5000 are in the *Ānuṣṭubh* metre, and the remaining (about 700) ślokas are in the various classical metres ranging from the metres of 11-syllabled pādas to the metres of 21-syllabled pādas, besides *Āryās* and *Gāthās*. An exhaustive list of all these 700 ślokas in the non-Anuṣṭubh metres (numbering 17) has been given here. The writer has tried to identify the metres of these ślokas with the help of the definitions given in the classical books on prosody, such as the Vṛttaratnākara. Still, there are left some ślokas whose metres do not conform to the classical definitions. The number of such ślokas is 33 (including the 3 ślokas of six pādas each), a list of which has also been given here. One, two, three or even all the four pādas of these ślokas are in the defective metres. Out of these 33 ślokas, the writer has metrically examined 15 ślokas, and by suggesting some textual emendments on the basis of the variants found in the different manuscripts of the Vāmana purāṇa, which have been collated in our Purāṇa-Department, he has tried to bring in them some conformity to the prosodic definitions. These metres have thus been mostly found to be *Upajātis* (i. e. mixed metres) or *Gāthās* (i. e. metres not covered by the definitions of the classical metres). The metrical defects of most of the remaining ślokas cannot be remedied even by the help of the variants recorded in our collation-

sheets. Such ślokas may be a subject of further study by scholars.

Although, like the cases of defective grammar, cases of defective metres are also met with in the Epics and the Purāṇas in large number, still their study may repay the labours of scholars.]

अथाष्टादशपुराणसंख्यापरिसंख्यानावसरे श्रीमद्देवीभागवतमत्स्यब्रह्मवैवर्तादिपुराणेषु "वामनं दश-साहस्रम्" इत्युक्तम्, परं मुम्बापुरस्थखेमराज श्रीकृष्णदासवेङ्कटेश्वराख्ये मुद्रणालये मुद्रिते श्रीवामनपुराणे नारदीयपुराणोक्ततालिकाक्रमेण ५८१५ श्लोका एव समुपलभ्यन्ते। नारदीयपुराणोक्तस्यास्योत्तरभागस्य पृथक्साहस्रसंख्यया परिलसिताः चतस्रः संहितास्तु इदानीं क्वापि नोपलभ्यन्ते। लुप्तप्राय एवायं ग्रन्थभाग इति प्रतीयते।

समुपलभ्यमानेऽस्मिन् शतद्वयोनषट्सहस्रात्मके वामनपुराणे ९५ अध्यायाः सन्ति। तेष्वनुष्टुभोऽतिरिक्तानि इन्द्रवज्रा-उपेन्द्रवज्राप्रभृतीनि सप्तदशविधानि छन्दांसि विलसन्तीति तानि परिगण्यन्ते।

जातिः प्रतिपादम् अक्षरसंख्या च	वृत्तानि	अध्यायसंख्या श्लोकसंख्या च	योगाङ्काः
त्रिष्टुप् (अक्षराणि ११)	इन्द्रवज्रा[1]	अ० २—श्लो० ५०, ५२। ६—४४, ४६, ५०, ५६। ९—४३। १०—३२। १२—५२। १४—२७, ३५, ३६। १८—५, १६, २१। १९—२, १२, १७, २०, २६, २९, ३१। २०—३८, ४५, ५१। २१—५२, ६१। २२—५०। २९—२३। ५६—६१। ५८—११। ५९—१३, १४। ६३—८६। ६६—१५। ६८—४०, ४४। ६९—४१, ४२। ७४—४२। ८१—२८। ८५—४६। ९०—४५, ४६। ९१—१, ३,	

[1] —वृत्तरत्नाकरे "स्यादिन्द्रवज्रा यदि तौ जगौ गः"। (त. त ज. ग २)

११५ । ९२—१२ । ९५—३०, ७४,
७५, ७८, ८५ । ५३

उपेन्द्रवज्रा[2] ४—२९ । १०—४३, ४४ । १२—
५४, ५५ । ५३—३२ । ५६—२७,
६१ । ५८—१२० । ६६—३३ ।
६८—३९ । ७६—३३ । ८९—३६ ।
९५—३६ । १४

उपजातयः[3] १—२०, २१, २२, २५, २७ । २—३,
३५, ५१, ५५ । ३—२२, २३, ३१, ३२,
३३, ३५, ४२, ४३ । ४—४९, ५०, ५७ ।
५—३१ । ६—४३, ४५, ४६, ४७, ४८,
४९, ५१, ५२, ५३, ५४, ५५ । ७—५३,
५४, ५५, ५६, ५७, ५८, ५९, ६१, ६२,
६५ । ८—५३, ७१, ७२ । ९—४२,
४५, ४६, ५०, ५१, ५२ । १०—३१,
३३, ३४, ३५, ३६, ३७, ३८, ३९, ४०,
४१, ४२, ४५, ४६, ४७, ४८, ४९, ५०,
५१, ५५, ५६, ५७ । ११—५८ ।
१२—४४, ४५, ४६, ४७, ४९, ५०, ५१,
५३, ५६, ५७ । १३—३६ । १४—
१९, २०, २३, २६, २८, २९, ३०, ३१,
३३, ३७, ३८, ३९, ४०, ५०, ५३, ५४,
५५, २२१, २२२ । १५—६२ । १६—
२२, २३ । १७—७२, ७३ । १८—३,
४, ११, १२, १४, १५, १९, २०, २१, २२,
२३, २५, २८ । १९—४, ६, ७, ८, ९,

२—"उपेन्द्रवज्रा जततजास्ततो गौ"। (ज. त. ज. ग २)

३—इन्द्रवज्रोपेन्द्रवज्रायोगादुपजातयो भवन्ति। ताश्चैकस्यैकेन पादेनान्यस्य त्रिभिः पादैश्चाष्टभेदाः। तथार्द्धद्वयसम्बन्धेन द्वाभ्यां द्वाभ्यां पादाभ्यां षड् भेदाः। सर्वा मिलित्वा चतुर्दश भेदाः। एवं वंशस्थेन्द्रवंशायोगादपि १४ भेदाः जायन्ते। यथा समाक्षरपादवृत्तद्वयमिश्रणे उपजातिर्भवति तथैव विषमाक्षरपादवृत्तद्वयत्रयादिमिश्रणेप्युपजातिर्भवतीति। (निर्णयसागरमुम्बईमुद्रितवृत्तरत्नाकरे टिप्पण्याम्)

१०, ११, १३, १४, १५, १८, २१, २२,
२३, २४, २५, २७, २८, ३०, ३२, ३३ ।
२०—३६, ३९, ४०, ४१, ४२, ४३, ४६,
४८, ४९, ५० । २१—४७, ४८, ४९, ५०,
५१, ५२, ५३, ५४, ५५, ५६, ५८ ।
२२—२, ३, ४३, ४४, ४९ । २९—१९,
२०, २१, २२, २४, २५, २६, २७ ।
४३—२८, २६ । ४४—३९ । ५०—१ ।
५१—६३, ६४ । ५२—६८, ६९ । ५३—
३०, ३५, ३६, ४४, ६१, ६२ । ५४—७८ ।
५५—२५, ८४, ८५, ८६, । ५६—१८,
१९, २२, २३, २८, ३०, ३१, ३३, ६८, ७१,
७२ । ५७—५२, १०२, १०३, १०४,
५८—१७, १८, १९, ८३, ८४, ८५,
८७, ९०, ९१, ९२, ९३, ११२, ११४,
११५, ११६, ११७, ११९, १२१ ।
५९—३, ५, ६, ७, ८, १२, २८, ३५,
४७ । ६०—७८ । ६१—७३, ७४, ७५,
७७ । ६२—३०, ३१, ४६, ४८, ४९,
५०, ५१, ५२, ५३, ५९ । ६३—८५ ।
६४—७९ । ६५—११६, ११७, १६८ ।
६६—२९, ३१, ३२, ३४, ६४ । ६८—
१३, ३६, ३८, ४१, ४२, ४५, ४६, ४८,
४९, ५०, ५६, ६५ । ६९—३२, ४०,
४३, १५५. १५६, १५८, १६०, १६१ ।
७०—२६, ४५, ४६, ४७, ४८, ४९, ५०,
५१, ५४, ५५, ५६, ९४, । ७२—७, १०,
११, ७६ । ७३—२५, ४७, ४८, ५३,
५४ । ७४—२८, ४१, ४३, ५० ।
७५—५१, ५२ । ७६—१५, १६, १८,
२५, २९, ३०, ३२, ३४, ३५, ३६, ३७,
३८, ४९ । ७७—४२, ४३, ५६, ५७ ।
७८—२१, २२, २३, ४२, ८०, ८२, ८३,

		८४। ७९—८४। ८०—३९। ८१—२०, २१, २२, २३, २४, २५, २९, ३०, ३२। ८२—३०, ४४, ४५, ४८। ८४—४१। ८५—३९, ४१, ४२, ४३, ४४, ५०, ५१, ८४। ८६—२०, २८ (पादद्वयात्मकः)। ९०—४७, ४८। ९१—१, ४, ५, ६, ८, ९, १४, १६, १११। ९२—२, १०, ३६, ३८, ४२, ४३, ४४, ६०, ६१, ६२, ६६। ९३—९, १२, १३, १४। ९४—३२, ७१, ७२, ७३, ७४, ७६। ९५—२८, २९, ३०, ३२, ६९, ७०, ७१, ८८, ८९।	३९६
	शालिनी[4]	५—४३। ३२—२१, २२। ७२—८।	४
जगती (१२)	वंशस्थं[5]	२२—६०। ५६—५८, ५९, ६०, ७०। ८६—२१। ८५—४८।	७
	इन्द्रवंशा[6]	५६—६७।	१
	तामरसम्[7]	५६—६६।	१
अतिजगती (१३)	रुचिरा[8]	५६—५६, ५७।	२
शक्करी (१४)	वसन्ततिलकं[9]	१८—२५, २६। ४३—१०। ५६—५५, ६४। ५८—८५, १११। ५९—२। ६७—५९। ६९—३१। ७३—४६। ७७—५४। ८५—४०, ४१, ४२, ४३। ९४—३०, ७०, ७१, ७२, ७३।	२१

४—"शालिन्युक्ता म्तौ तगौ गोऽब्धिलोकैः" (म. त. त ग २. यतिः ४-७)

५—,'जतौ तु वंशस्थमुदीरितं जरौ"। (ज. त. ज. र.)

६—"स्यादिन्द्रवंशा ततजै रसंयुतैः"। (त. त. ज. र.)

७—"इति वद तामरसं नजजाद् यः"। (न. ज. ज. य.)

८—"चतुर्ग्रहैर्यतिरुचिरा जभौ सजगाः"। (ज. भ. स. ज. ग१. यतिः ४-९)

९—"उक्तं वसन्ततिलकं तभजा जगौगः"। (त. भ. ज. ज. ग २)

अतिशक्करी (१५)	मालिनी[१०]	१—२८ । ९४—२९ ।	२
अत्यष्टि (१७)	शिखरिणी[११]	५९—२९ ।	१
	पृथ्वी[१२]	७३—४५ ।	१
अतिधृतिः (१९)	शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्[१३]	५१—७५ । ५३-३४ । ७३-४४ ।	३
प्रकृतिः (२१)	स्रग्धरा[१४]	५३—३३, ३७ । ५६–३२ । ७३-४०, ४१, ४२, ४३ । ८९—५८ । ९१—११ ।	९
अर्धसमम्	पुष्पिताग्रा:[१५]	९४-३१ ।	१
मात्रिकम्	आर्या[१६]	९५—८१ ।	१
वर्णिकम्	गाथा:[१७]	१—१७, १८, १९, २३, २४, २६, ३१ । २—२, ४, ३६, ५३, ५४, ५६ । ३—११, ३४, ३६, ५१ । ६—१०७ । ९—४१, ४४, ४७, ४८, ४९ । १०—५२, ५३, ५४ । १२—४८ । १३—५९ । १४—२४, २५, ३२, ३४, ५१, ५२, ५६, ५७ । १५—६१ । १८—१, २, ६, ७, ८, ९, १०, १३, १७, १८, २७ । १९—१, ३, ५, १६, १९, ४२, ४३ । २०—३७,	

१०–"ननमयययुतेयं मालिनी भोगिलोकैः" (न. न. म. य. य. यतिः ८-७)

११–"रसै रुद्रैश्छिन्ना यमनसभला गः शिखरिणी" (य. म. न. स. भ. ल १. ग १. ; यतिः ६-११)

१२–"जसौ जसयला वसुग्रहयतिश्च पृथ्वी गुरुः" (ज. स. ज. स. य. ल १. ग १. यतिः ८-९)

१३—"सूर्याश्वैर्मसजाः स्तताः सगुरवः शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्"
(म.स.ज.स.त.त.ग१ यतिः—१२-७)

१४—"म्रभ्नैर्यानां त्रयेण त्रिमुनियतियुता स्रग्धरा कीर्तितेयम्"
(म. र. भ न. य. य. य. यतिः ७ ७. ७)

१५—"अयुजि नयुगरेफतो यकारो । युजि च नजौ जरगाश्च पुष्पिताग्रा"
(विषमांघ्रौ न. न. र. य. । समाङ्घ्रौ न. ज. ज. र. ग १)

१६—"सामान्यतः आर्याछन्दसि चतुर्षु चरणेषु क्रमशः १२-१८ । १२-१५ मात्राः भवन्ति।

१७—गाथालक्षणं निर्णयसागरप्रेसमुद्रिते वृत्तरत्नाकरे—
"विषमाक्षरपादत्वात् पादैरसमञ्जसं धर्मवत् ।
यच्छन्दसि नोक्तमत्र गाथेति तत्सूरिभिः प्रोक्तम् ॥"

४४, ४७। २१—५७, ५८, ६०, ६२।
२२—१, ४५। ४३—२७। ४७—
१४५। ५०—१३। ५१—७४। ५३—
३१, ४५, ४६। ५६—२०, २१, २४, २५,
२६, २९, ३४, ३५, ६५। ५७—१०३।
५८—१०, २०, ८६, ८८, ८९, ११३।
५९—१०। ६१—७२, ७६। ६२—
२९, ४७। ६६—३०। ६८—१४, ३४,
३५, ३७, ४३, ४७, ५७। ६९—१,
१०७, १०८, १०९, १५७, १५९। ७०—
१, ५२, ९३। ७२—१२, १३, १५।७६—
१३, १४, १७ २४, २६, २७, २८, ३१।
७८—३, १९, २०, ८१, ८९। ७९—५।
८१—२६, २७, ३१, ३२। ८४—४२, ४३।
८५—४५, ४७, ४९, ८३। ८७—४९।
८८—२८। ८९—३५, ५७, ५९। ९१—२,
१३, १५, ११२, ११३, ११४। ९२—५८,
५८, ६३, ६४। ९३—१०, १५। ९४—
४१। ९५—३३, ३४, ६७, ७२, ७३,
७६, ७७। १६१

पूर्वनिर्दिष्टातिरिक्तानां कतिपय-श्लोकानां एको द्वौ त्रयो वा चरणाः ः त्तरत्नाकरादिच्छन्दोग्रन्थोक्तप्रसिद्धछन्दोलक्षणविहीनाः दृश्यन्ते। एषु स्थलेषु काशिराजपुराणविभागे संवादितानां वामनपुराणस्य केषांचित् प्राचीनकोशानां पाठभेदसाहाय्येन कुत्रचित्प्रसिद्धच्छन्दसां कुत्रचिदप्रसिद्धच्छन्दसां लक्षणान्यपि घटन्ते। अत्र निदर्शनार्थं पाठभेदानां साहाय्येन केषांचिच्छ्लोकानां छन्दोविषयको विचारः प्रस्तूयते। शेषाणां छन्दोलक्षणरहितानां श्लोकानां विचारोऽप्यनयैव रीत्या कर्तुं शक्यते। तथाप्यत्र केचन छन्दोलक्षणविहीनाः एतादृशाः श्लोका अपि वर्तन्ते येषु पाठभेदसाहाय्येनापि कश्चिद्विशेषो न दृश्यते। तत्र प्रसिद्धछन्दोलक्षणराहित्यस्य को हेतुरिति विद्वद्भिर्विचारणीयम्।

छन्दोलक्षणहीनानां वामनपुराणश्लोकानां सूची

अ० २-श्लो० ९९ । १८-२७ । ४७-१४४, १४२ । ५४-८ । ५६-३२, ६३ । ५७-१०२, १०३, १०४ । ५८-९४ । ६७-९८ । ६८-११० । ७२-९, १९ । ७८-४१ । ८१-२९, २७ । ८३-३३ । ८४-९० । २८-२८ । ९१-१७ । ९२-३७, ३९, ४०, ४१, ६९ । ९४-७९ । ९५-३९, ४६ । योगः ३०

अधोऽङ्किताख्रयः श्लोकाः षट्चरणात्मकाः—

१-२७ । ७२-१३ । ७६-१७ ।

छन्दोलक्षणरहितानां केषांचित् श्लोकानां विचारः

१—अ० २०, श्लो० ५५,

> "ब्रह्मा तमीशं वचनं बभाषे नेहास्य जन्मन्यजितस्य शम्भो ।
> पराजितं चेष्यतेऽसौ त्वदीयो नरो मदीयः पुरुषो महात्मा ॥"

अस्मिन् श्लोके पूर्वार्द्धचरणद्वयम् इन्द्रवज्रावृत्तस्य उत्तरार्द्धे चतुर्थश्चरणः उपेन्द्रवज्रावृत्तस्य परं तृतीयश्चरणः ज. त. त. गुरुद्वययुक्तः प्रसिद्धछन्दोलक्षण-रहितो वर्तते । यद्यपि एकादशाक्षरस्य त्रिष्टुभः २०४८ प्रस्तार-प्रकारेषु कस्मिंश्चित् प्रस्तारभेदे उपर्युक्ताः गणाः समागमिष्यन्त्येव येनोपजातौ नास्ति सन्देह-लेशः; परन्त्वत्र, अविज्ञातलक्षणतृतीयचरणोपसृष्टमुपजातिरिति वक्तुं युज्यते ।

परमत्र प्रसङ्गे काशिराजकोशे[1] श्लोकस्यास्य तृतीयचरणे "पराजितश्चेत्पतते त्वदीयो" इति पाठो विद्यते अत्रोपेन्द्रवज्रालक्षणात् श्लोकेऽस्मिन् इन्द्रवज्रो-पेन्द्रवज्रामिश्रिता(इ. इ. उ. उ.) "रामा[2]" ख्योपजातिर्भवतीति द्वादशमोऽयमुपजातेर्भेदः ।

२—अ. १८, श्लो. २७,

> "इति रविवचनादथाह कुम्भजन्मा कृतमिति विद्धि मयाहि नीचशृङ्गम ।
> तव किरणजितो भविष्यति महीध्रो ममचरणसमाश्रितस्य का व्यथा ते ॥"

अत्र चत्वारोऽपि पादाः ग्रन्थोक्तछन्दोलक्षणरहिताः सन्तीति पादे श्लोके च विषमाक्षरत्वात् 'गाथा' वृत्तमिति ।

---

[1] एषां कोशानां संकेताः लेखस्यान्ते व्याख्याताः ।

[2] उपजातीनां चतुर्दशभेदाः पूर्वं प्रदर्शिताः ।

पूर्वोक्तकोशेष्वपि पूर्वार्धमस्य श्लोकस्य सर्वत्र तुल्यम्। उत्तरार्द्धे तृतीयचरणे का. रा. कोशे–—'भविष्यते महीन्द्रो'। पू. १. कोशे 'भविष्यते-मदान्धो'। पू. २., भा. इ. कोशयोः "भविष्यते महीध्रो" इति पाठो वर्तते। एवं चतुर्ष्वपि कोशेषु 'भविष्यते' इति पाठेन 'ते' तकारस्य गुरुत्वात् प्रथमचतुर्थ-चरणवत् तृतीयोऽपि चरणो न. न. र. ज. गुरुद्वयवान् भविष्यति।

चतुर्थचरणस्यापि भा. इ. कोशे "मम शरणं समुपाश्रितस्य कार्यात्" इति पाठेन न. ज. ज. र. गुरुद्वयवशात् द्वितीयचरणवत् त्रयोदशाक्षरपादत्वात् प्रथमतृतीयौ द्वितीयचतुर्थौ समानौ चरणौ भूत्वा अतिजगतीशक्कर्योरुपजातिरपि सिद्ध्यतीति विशेषः।

३--अ. ४७, श्लो. १४४,

हिरण्यरेताः पुरुषस्त्वमेकस्त्वं स्त्री पुमांस्त्वं हि नपुसकं च।
वालो युवा स्थविरो जीर्णदंष्ट्रस्त्वत्तेगिरिर्विश्वकृद्विश्वकर्ता॥

अत्र त. भ. त. गुरुद्वयात् तृतीयश्चरणोऽप्रसिद्धवृत्तघटकः प्रथमद्वितीयौ क्रमशः उपेन्द्रवज्रेन्द्रवज्रावृत्तयोश्चतुर्थश्च विध्वङ्कमालावृत्तस्येत्यविदिततृतीय-चरणोपजातिरिति।

परं पाठान्तरपर्य्यवेक्षणेन इ. १ कोशे "वालो युवा स्थाविरो जीर्णदंष्ट्रः" इति विध्वङ्कमालानुसारि तृतीयचरणपाठस्तथा 'पेन' कोशे "वालोयुवास्थविरजीर्णदंष्ट्रः" इति लघुरकारपाठादिन्द्रवज्रावृत्तपाठः। एवं चतुर्थचरणादौ "त्वन्नोगिरिरिति" सर्वकोशपाठः। का. रा. पेन. कोशयोस्तु "त्वन्नोगिरिर्विश्वकर्ता त्वमेव" इति पाठस्तस्मात् तृतीयचरणस्य इ. १. कोशपाठं चतुर्थस्य का. रा., पेन कोशयोः पाठं संगृह्योत्तरार्द्धो विध्वङ्कमालारूपः पूर्वार्द्धश्चोपेन्द्रवज्रेन्द्रवज्रात्मक इति निम्नांकितं पद्यं भवत्विति प्रदर्श्यते :—

"हिरण्यरेताः पुरुषस्त्वमेकस्त्वं स्त्री पुमांस्त्वं हि नपुसंकश्च।
वालो युवा स्थविरो जीर्णदंष्ट्रस्त्वं नो गिरिर्विश्वकर्ता त्वमेव॥"

इति चेदुपेन्द्रवज्रेन्द्रवज्राविध्वङ्कमालोपजातिरिति विदितसर्वचरणोपजाति-र्भवति।

४—अ. ५७, श्लो. १०२,

रौद्रा कर्कटिका तुण्डा श्वेततीर्थौ ददौ त्विमाम् ।
एतानि भूतानि गणांश्च मातरो दृष्ट्वा महात्मा विनता तनूजः ॥

अत्र श्लोके पूर्वार्द्धोऽनुष्टुप्छन्दसः उत्तरार्द्धे तृतीयश्चरण इन्द्रवंशात्मकश्चतुर्थश्चेन्द्रवज्रात्मक इति विरुद्धार्धछन्दोयोग इत्यसंगतिः सम्पादकप्रमादादत्राङ्कप्रदाने भ्रान्तिरिति प्रतिभाति यतोऽध्यायान्तिमः १०४ श्लोकः षट्चरणात्मको वर्तते । अत्रानुष्टुभोऽर्द्धं विहायावशिष्टचरणयोरुत्तरोत्तरश्लोकानां पूर्वार्द्धम्पूर्वार्द्धमादाय १०२।१०३।१०४ इत्यध्यायान्तानां त्रयाणां श्लोकानां प्रत्येकस्य चतुर्भिश्चतुर्भिः पादैः सुचारुरूपेण परिपूर्तिर्भवतीति विविच्यते ।

(क) वेंकटेश्वरमुद्रितपुस्तके १०२ श्लोकस्योत्तरार्द्धं १०३ श्लोकस्य च पूर्वार्द्धमादाय १०२ श्लोको भविष्यति । यथा—

"एतानि भूतानि गणांश्च मातरो दृष्ट्वा महात्मा विनतातनूजः ।
ददौ मयूरं स्वसुतं महाजवं तथारुणं ताम्रचूडं च पुत्रम् ॥"

अस्मिन् श्लोके प्रथमश्चरण इन्द्रवंशावृत्तस्य द्वितीय इन्द्रवज्रावृत्तात्मकस्तृतीयो वंशस्थवृत्तस्य चतुर्थः ज. त. त. ग. ग. विशिष्टोऽप्रसिद्धः । इत्यविदितचतुर्थचरणोपजातिरिति ।

अत्र पू० १ भा० इ० कोशयोः "तं चारुणं ताम्रचूडं स्वपुत्रम्" इति विध्वंकमालाघटितपाठाङ्गीकारेण निम्नाङ्कितः श्लोकश्चेत् :—

"एतानि भूतानि गणांश्च मातरो दृष्ट्वा महात्मा विनता तनूजः ॥
ददौ मयूरं स्वसुतं महाजवं तं चारुणं ताम्रचूडं स्वपुत्रम् ॥"

तर्हि 'इन्द्रवंशेन्द्रवज्रा-वशंस्थविध्वंकमालाघटितोपजातिर्भविष्यतीति नोचेत्पूर्वोपजातिरेवेति ।

(ख) एवम् १०३ श्लोकस्योत्तरार्द्धं तथा षट्पदात्मकस्य १०४ श्लोकस्य पूर्वार्द्धं चरणद्वयं गृहीत्वा १०३ श्लोकस्य पूर्तिर्भवति । यथा—

"शक्तिं हुताशोऽद्रिसुता च वस्त्रं दण्डं गुरुः सा कुटिला कमण्डलुम् ॥
मालां हरिः शूलधरः पताकं कण्ठे च हारं मघवानुरस्तः ॥"

अत्र सर्वे चरणाः परिचिताः सन्ति । उपजातिवृत्तमिति ।

(ग) अवशिष्टश्चतुश्चरणात्मकोऽन्तिमः १०४ श्लोको यथा—

"गणैर्वृतो मातृभिरध्वजातो मयूरसंस्थो वरशक्तिपाणिः ।
सेनाधिपत्ये स कृतो भवेन रराज सूर्येव महावपुष्मान् ॥"

अस्मिन् श्लोके तृतीयश्चरण इन्द्रवज्राख्यः शेषास्त्रयश्चरणाः उपेन्द्रवज्राख्यास्ततः (उ० उ० इ० उ०) योगात्प्रेमानाम्न्येकादशम्युपजातिर्भवतीति ज्ञेयम् । वृत्त० रत्ना० (नि० सा०) टिप्पण्यां पिङ्गलमुनिकृतप्राकृतपिङ्गलतः संगृहीतम् । अत्र चतुर्थचरणे 'सूर्येव महावपुष्मान्' इत्यस्य स्थाने 'सूर्यप्रतिमो वपुष्मान्' इतिपाठः इ० १ कोशे । अनेन पाठेनापि छन्दोविपर्यासो न भवति ।

५—अ. ५८, श्लो. ९४,

"एवं जानन्धर्ममग्र्यं सुरेन्द्रा नाहं बध्यां भ्रातरं मातुलेयम् ।
यथा दैत्योऽभिगमिष्यद् गुहातस्तथा शक्त्या घातयिष्यामि शत्रुम् ॥

एकादशाक्षरेऽस्मिन् पद्ये पूर्वार्द्धम् शालिनीवृत्तघटितम् । उत्तरार्द्धे तृतीयचरणे य. म. त. गुरुद्वयम् । चतुर्थे य. त. त. गुरुद्वयम् । चरणद्वयमिदमप्रसिद्धवृत्तसम्पन्नमतोऽप्रसिद्धचरणद्वयोपजातिवृत्तमिदमिति ।

अत्रापि तृतीयचरणे पेन.कोशे "सोऽयं दैत्यो निर्गतः स्याद् गुहातः" इति पाठो वर्तते । अनेन पाठेन तृतीयचरणोऽपि शालिनीवृत्तघटितो भविष्यति । परं चतुर्थस्य का गतिरिति सैवापरिचितचतुर्थचरणोपजातिरिति ।

६—अ. ५८, श्लो. ११४,

"ततो गुहः प्राह हरिं सुरेशं मोहेन नष्टो भगवन्विवेकी ।
भ्राता मया मातुलेयो निरस्तस्तस्मात्करिष्ये स्वशरीरशोषम् ॥

अत्रोपेन्द्रवज्रेन्द्रवज्राविध्वङ्कमालेन्द्रवज्रामिश्रितोपजातिरस्ति परमत्रैकं कोशं विहाय शेषसप्तकोशेषु तृतीयचरणे 'मातुलेयो' इति पदस्थाने 'मातुलजो' इतिपाठोऽस्ति । अनेन पाठेन द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थचरणा इन्द्रवज्रावृत्तघटिताः प्रथम उपेन्द्रवज्राख्योऽतः उ. इ. इ. इ. सम्बन्धात् श्लोकेऽस्मिन् कीर्तिनाम्नी प्रथमोपजातिर्भविष्यति ।

७—अ. ५९, श्लो. २८,

"किन्न श्रुतो दैत्यनाथेह किं नु गीतः श्लोको गाधिना पार्थिवेन ।
दृष्ट्वा सैन्यं विप्रयातं प्रसक्तं पथ्यं तथ्यं सर्वलोके हितं च ॥"

अत्रापि प्रथमश्चरणो विध्वङ्कमालावृत्तस्य शेषाः शालिनीवृत्तस्येति विध्वंकमालाशालिन्योरुपजातिरिति ।

परं पेन. पू. २. कोशयोः "नैवं ज्ञातो दैत्यनाथेह किं नु" इति पाठो विलसति । पाठेनानेनोपर्युक्तः श्लोकः परिशुद्धं शालिनीवृत्तं भविष्यति नो चेत्पूर्वोक्तोपजातिरेवैति ।

८—अ. ६७, श्लो. ५८,

इति विभुना प्रणतार्तिहरेण गणपतयः सहयोपिषमेघरथेन
श्रुतिगदितान्न (?) गमेन विवुधावतंसेन गिरिमवेत्य ।

अस्मिन् मुद्रितश्लोके द्वितीयतृतीयचरणयोः पाठः सन्दिग्धः । प्रथमचरणस्य पाठः कोशेषु प्रायः सर्वत्र समान एव । द्वितीयस्य पू. १., पू. २., भा. इ., वंग पुस्तकेषु "गणपतयो वृषमेघरथेन" इति पाठः । तृतीयचरणस्य पू. २. कोशे "श्रुतिगदितानुगमेन हरेण" इति पाठोऽस्ति । अन्येषु कोशेषु सन्दिग्ध एवास्य चरणस्य पाठः । चतुर्थचरणस्य च पाठः प्रायेण सर्वत्र "गिरिमवतत्य समध्ववसन्त" इत्येव वर्तते । अतः पूना २. पाठ एव परिग्राह्यस्तदाऽयं श्लोकः ईदृशो भविष्यति—

"इति विभुना प्रणतार्तिहरेण गणपतयो वृषमेघरथेन ।
श्रुतिगदितानुगमेन हरेण गिरिमवतत्य समध्यवसन्तम् ॥"

इति जगत्याः द्वादशाक्षरं तामरसं नाम वृत्तमस्तीति ज्ञेयम् ।

९--अ. ७८, श्लो. ४१,

"ततोऽग्निधूमेन मही सशैला व्याप्ता दिशो वै विदिशश्च पूर्णाः ॥
तेनोग्रगन्धेन दिवःस्पृशेन मरुद्भवौ ब्रह्मलोके महर्षे ॥

अत्र प्रथम उपेन्द्रवज्रावृत्तचरणः, द्वितीयतृतीयाविन्द्रवज्राचरणौ, चतुर्थोऽपरिचितः 'ज. त. त. गुरुद्वययुक्तस्तेनापरिचितचतुर्थचरणोपजातिरिति। अत्र इ.′ १., वंगकोशयोश्चतुर्थचरणे "मरुद्भवौ ब्रह्मपुरे तदोग्रः" इति पाठः उपेन्द्रवज्रावृत्तस्य दृश्यते। तेनाद्यन्तचरणद्वयमुपेन्द्रवज्रावृत्तस्य मध्यचरणद्वयमिन्द्रवज्रावृत्तस्येति "आर्द्रा" नाम्नी नवमी उपजातिर्भविष्यति। नोचेत्पूर्वोक्तोपजातिरेवेति।

१०-अ. ८१, श्लो. २७,

"दिवं समीक्षन् सहसा कातराक्षो दुर्गं हिमाद्रिं सहसा विवेश।
महीध्रश्रृङ्गोपरि विष्णुशंभू बंभ्रम्यमाणं स्वरिपुं च मत्वा ॥

अत्रापि प्रथमश्चरणो द्वादशाक्षरोऽपरिचितश्च ज. त. य. य. गणयुक्तः। द्वितीयचतुर्थाविन्द्रवज्रा तृतीयश्चोपेन्द्रवज्रावृत्तस्येति विषमाक्षरत्वाद् गाथावृत्तमिदम्।

अत्र प्रथमचरणे का. रा. कोशे "दिवं समीक्षन् भयकातराक्षौ" इ. १. कोशे "दिशः समीक्षन् भयकातराक्षो" एवं भा. इ., पू. २., पेन, वंगकोशेषु चाप्ययमेव पाठोऽस्ति। प्रथमचरणस्य सर्वेषु कोशेषु 'सहसा' पदस्थाने 'भय' पद दर्शनात् "भयकातराक्षो" पाठ एव समीचीनः प्रतिभाति, लक्षणं चोपेन्द्रवज्रावृत्तस्य घटते, तेन प्रथमतृतीयावुपेन्द्रवज्रा, द्वितीयचतुर्थाविन्द्रवज्रावृत्तचरणाविति क्रमेण (उ. इ. उ. इ.) योगात् 'हंसी' नाम्नी पञ्चमी उपजातिर्भवतीति।

११—अ. ९२, श्लो. ४१,

"किं वा देवैर्मद्विधैर्बुद्धिहीनैः शिक्षां नेयः साधु वासाधु चैव।
स्वयं श्रुतीनामपि चादिकर्ता व्यवस्थितः सदसद्यो जगद्वै ॥

पूर्वार्द्धोऽत्र शालिनीवृत्तस्य, तृतीयश्चरणश्चोपेन्द्रवज्रावृत्तस्य, चतुर्थो हि ज. भ. त. गद्वयादपरिचितः । त्रिष्टुप्प्रस्तारान्तर्गतत्वादपरिचितचतुर्थचरणोपजातिरिति ।

कोशेषु द्वितीयचतुर्थचरणयोः पाठान्तराणि दृश्यन्ते । परं द्वितीयचरणस्य सर्वे पाठा अप्रसिद्धत्वादनुपयुक्ताः । चतुर्थचरणस्य पू. १, भा. इ. कोशयोः "व्याप्य स्थितः सर्वविद्यो जगद्वै" इति विध्वंकमालाघटकं पाठं गृहीत्वा निम्नाङ्कितः श्लोकः सम्पद्यते—

"किं वा देवैर्मद्विधैर्बुद्धिहीनैः शिक्षां नेयः साधु वाऽसाधु चैव ।
स्वयं श्रुतीनामपि चादिकर्ता व्याप्य स्थितः सर्वविद्यो जगद्वै ॥ इति ।

एवंरीत्या शालिनी, उपेन्द्रवज्रा, विध्वंकमालानामुपजाति र्भवितुं शक्नोतीति । अन्यथा यथापूर्वम् ।

१२—अ. ९५, श्लो० ४६,

"यः कारयेन्मन्दिरं केशवस्य पुण्याँल्लोकान् स जयेच्छाश्वतान्वा ।
दत्त्वाऽऽरामान् पुष्पफलाभिपन्नान्भोगान्स भुङ्क्ते कामतः कामनीयान् ॥"

अत्र पूर्वार्द्धस्य प्रथमद्वितीयचरणौ क्रमशः विध्वङ्कमाला-वातोर्मिवृत्तयोः स्तः । तृतीयः, म. त. ज. गद्वयविशिष्टः, चतुर्थश्च द्वादशाक्षरः, त. म. य. य. गणान्वितोऽप्रसिद्धः । एवमत्र द्वावपि चरणावप्रसिद्धौ स्तः । विषमाक्षरत्वाद् गाथावृत्तमस्ति ।

अत्र प्रथमचरणस्य का. रा., पू. २., कोशयोः "यो वै कुर्यात्सदनं माधवस्य" इति वातोर्मिघटितः पाठः । चतुर्थस्य च भा. इ. कोशे "भोगान्भुङ्क्ते कामतः श्लाघनीयाम्" शालिनीवृत्तपाठोऽस्ति । इमं पाठद्वयमङ्गीकृत्य निम्नाङ्कितः श्लोकश्चेत् —

"यो वै कुर्यात् सदनं माधवस्य पुण्याँल्लोकान् स जयेच्छाश्वतान्वा ।
दत्त्वाऽऽरामान् पुष्पफलाभिपन्नान् भोगान्भुङ्क्ते कामतः कामनीयान् ॥

तर्हि अपरिचिततृतीयचरणा वातोर्मिशालिन्योरुपजातिर्भविष्यतीति ।

इदानीमधोऽङ्कितास्त्रयः श्लोकाः षट्चरणा विचार्यन्ते—

१३—१, श्लो. २७,

"केयूरमेकं मम कम्बलस्त्वहिर्द्वितीयमन्यो भुजगो धनंजयः
नागस्तथैवाश्वतरो हि कङ्कणं सव्येतरे तक्षक उत्तरं तथा
नीलोऽपि नीलाञ्जनतुल्यवर्णः श्रोणीतटे राजति सुप्रतिष्ठः ॥

अत्र १–२–४ चरणाः इन्द्रवंशावृत्तस्य, द्वितीयो वंशस्थस्य, पञ्चमः षष्ठश्चेन्द्रवज्रावृत्तस्येति षट्सु पादेषु सर्वं मिलित्वा सप्ततिः वर्णाः सन्ति विषमाक्षरत्वाभावान्मया उपजातिषु परिगणितोऽयं श्लोकः यतोऽस्यादितश्चत्वारश्चरणाः द्वादशाक्षराः वंशस्थेन्द्रवंशाघटिताः, तत आदिषु चतुर्षु चरणेषु इन्द्रवंशावंशस्थोपजातिर्भवति । शेषावेकादशाक्षरौ पञ्चमषष्ठपादाविन्द्रवज्रावृत्तघटितौ स्तः एवमर्द्धश्लोक इन्द्रवज्रावृत्तार्द्ध इति । सार्धश्लोकश्चेद्वरमुपजातिरेवेति । अन्यथा "शेषं गाथास्त्रिभिर्षड्भिश्चरणैश्चोपलक्षिताः ॥" इति नियमाद् गाथा भवतु ।

१४—७२, श्लो. १३,

"स दिव्ययोगात् प्रतिसंस्थितोऽम्बरे भार्यासहायो दिवसाश्च पञ्च ।
ततस्तु षष्ठेऽहनि पार्थिवेन ऋतुर्न वन्ध्योऽद्य भवेद्विचिन्त्य ।
रराम तन्व्या सह कामचारी ततोऽम्बरात् प्राच्यवतास्य शुक्रम् ॥"

अत्र प्रथमश्चरणो वंशस्थवृत्तस्य, द्वितीय इन्द्रवज्राख्यस्य, शेषाश्चत्वारः उपेन्द्रवज्रावृत्तस्येति सर्वे परिचिता स्तथापि विषमाक्षरत्वात् षट्पदत्वाच्च गाथावृत्तम् ।

१५—७६, श्लो. १७,

"यस्मिन्द्विजेन्द्राः श्रुतिशास्त्रवर्जिताः समत्वमायान्ति पितामहेन ।
यस्मिन्भक्त्या पूजयन्ते पितॄन्स्वान् सोऽनन्यभावेन सकृत्तु चेतसा ।
फलं महामेधमखस्य मानवा दधत्यनन्तं भगवत्प्रसादात् ॥"

अत्रापि प्रथमचतुर्थाविन्द्रवंशावृत्तचरणौ, द्वितीयषष्ठावुपेन्द्रवज्रावृत्तस्य, तृतीयः शालिनीवृत्तस्य, पञ्चमश्च वंशस्थवृत्तस्येति विषमाक्षरत्वात् षट्पादत्वाच्च गाथावृत्तमिति ।

एवमन्येऽवशिष्टाः १८ श्लोकाः अविदितचरणैकद्वयत्रयान्विताः कोशेष्वप्यविस्पष्टा एव सन्तीति न तत्र किमपि वैशिष्ट्यमुपलभ्यते तत्र को हेतुरिति विवेचनीयमिति ।

एवं वामनपुराणस्याप्रसिद्धाघटितछन्दोलक्षणचरणश्लोकानां यथामति छन्दोनिर्णयं विधाय प्राचीनहस्तलिखितानां कतिपयवामनपुराणकोशानां पाठानाश्रित्य यथासम्भवं वृत्तानुकूलं पाठमन्विष्य च प्रसिद्धछन्दःपूरणे प्रयत्नः कृतः । आशास्यतेऽयमायासः पाठकानामुपयोगाय भविष्यतीति । अन्येऽपि विद्वांसोऽत्रविषयेऽवशिष्टश्लोकेषु च स्वकीयं विचारं प्रकटीकरिष्यन्तीति शम् ।

निर्दिष्टकोशानां संकेताः ।

का. रा. = काशिराजसरस्वतीभण्डार, रामनगर ;
कोशसंख्या २४।१८३
इं. १. = इण्डिया आफिस लाइब्रेरी, लंदन ;
कोशसंख्या E. ३५८४
इं. २ = इण्डिया आफिस लाइब्रेरी, लंदन ;
कोशसंख्या E ३५८५
पू. १ = भण्डारकर ओरियण्टल रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट, पूना ;
कोशसंख्या १९ (१८७२–७४)
पू. २ = भण्डारकर ओरियण्टल रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट, पूना ;
कोशसंख्या ७८ (१८८२–८३)
भा. इति = भारतीय इतिहास संशोधक मण्डल, पूना ;
कोशसंख्या मि. २२७–२५
पेन. = पेनसिलवेनिया विश्वविद्यालय (अमेरिका) ;
कोशसंख्या १४४७
वंग. = बंगालीलिपि-कोश, एशियाटिक सोसाइटी, कलकत्ता,
कोशसंख्या ३५२३–७१–B. ३

BHUVANAKOŚA JANAPADAS OF BHĀRATAVARSHA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

In the *Purāṇa Bulletin* Vol. IV Nos. 1 (pp. 112-145) and 2 (pp. 245-276) Dr. C. A. Lewis has examined in detail the readings and identifications of the names of Janapadas in the Purāṇic lists which go by the name of Bhuvanakośa. The evidence of ancient Indian geography compiled in the Bhuvanakośa is of great importance and merits detailed textual criticism as to settle the readings and to bring out the correct identification so far as is possible in the light of our knowledge about ancient and modern India. Recently Dr. Lewis has returned to the problem in a somewhat detailed manner and he has taken note of earlier attempts by Dr. Kirfel[1] and Dr. D. C. Sircar.[2]

The Purāṇic lists are available in two versions, viz. a short and a long one, the former for the most part incorporated in the second. In order to elucidate the question the following points should be examined in detail :—

1. Shorter list in the four Purāṇas, viz. Vishṇu (II.3. 1-19), Kūrma (I.47.20-42), Śiva(18.1-15), Agni (118.1-8).
2. Longer list in the six Purāṇas—Matsya (114.34-57), Vāyu (45.109-137), Vāmana (13.36-58), Mārkaṇḍeya (57.3 -58), Brahma (27.41-70) and Brahmāṇḍa (I.16.40-69).
3. Number of the names in the Shorter list.
4. Number of the names in the longer list.
5. To see whether the 7 divisions of Bhāratavarsha are found in both the lists in all the versions.
6. The period of compilation of the shorter list.

---

[1] Das Purāṇa von Weltgebaude. Bonn. 1954, p. 112 ff.

[2] I. H. Q. Vol. xxi. p. 267 ff.

7. The period of compilation of the longer list.
8. To examine the question whether the shorter list was original or a later summary of the longer list.
9. To examine the question whether the geographical divisions in both the lists are the same or different from each other.
10. To discuss the identification of the individual names.

A detailed study on this scale must be deferred to a future occasion as it constitutes a major item in Purāṇic textual criticism and a critical commentary on the same. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves here to some comments on the readings and identifications by Dr. Lewis.

1. Madhya-deśa List

Mādreya. The reading is quite all right, but it is unnecessary and rather violent to the geographical tradition to import Tāmralipti in this context or discussion. The Madras and the Mādreyas are well known in Sanskrit tradition and there can be no question of their placement outside the Punjab. Neither the factor of migration of the Mādreyas from west to east or of the independent existence of two tribes should be suggested, since it only adds to create confusion in a matter where the overwhelming evidence about the location of Mādreyas is of a precise character.

Bodha—The authenticity of the reading Bodha in preference to Yaudheya of Dr. Sircar is sound. The detailed material about this Janapada had already been set forth in my book 'India as known to Pāṇini' (p. 58). As a member of the Sālveya Republic the residence of Bodhas should be placed between north-Rajasthan and Kangra.

Kusalya—All the entries to bolster this reading do not help in the least to remove the obscurity. Dr. Sircar's reading Kirāta obviously has the merit of being identifiable with a well known tribe in the area. The evidence from the Mahābhārata to be redeemed from an anarchy of reading supports Suketta which points to Suketa although not without difficulty.

21

Kunti—The alternative reading Kuntala in Madhya-Deśa hardly deserves to be considered, for there is no scope of any such geographical name in this area. The reading therefore is Kunti, which the Mahābhārata locates along the Aśvanadī, a tributary of the Chambal, and which as Dr. Lewis has recorded, was identified by me with the Kontwar region near Gwalior.

Avanti—The alternative reading Atharva is unacceptable, for the Avantis were a well known people from the remotest antiquity to which the Purāṇas were witnessed. The suggestion of Lewis to import a form connected with Pṛithūdaka, modern Pihova, may be acceptable but should await further textual investigation.

Bhūliṅga—It is mentioned as a member state of the Śālva confederacy and the reading should be accepted, as supported by the Purāṇic texts. The alternative reading Kulinga is also in order, where *Ku* is an equivalent of *Bhū*. Kalinga, however, is a corrupt reading.

Vṛika—This name is authenticated by a sūtra of Pāṇini (5.3.115) and should be taken to stand as the correct Purāṇic reading. The alternative reading Andhaka of the Mastya is corrupt and should be rejected. The identification of the Vṛikas with Brikasthala near Hastinapur is not worth considering. I had suggested its identification with Varkana, the old-persian form in the Bahistuna inscription of Darius, but the *Wirkas* are also a section of the Jāṭs in the Punjab and the Vṛikas may be identical with them.

Magadha—The alternative reading Malaja is preferable. S. B. Chaudhary's suggestion to read Malaka and then to modify it as Mūlaka is a conjecture which cannot be accepted, for Mūlaka, Aśmaka and Ṛishika represent quite a different group of Janapadas in the region of Godavari. It is unfortunate that Lewis should confound the genuine traditional reading of

Aśmak with anything like Aśvattha. It is still more regreattable that while considering Aśmaka the shadow of Aśvaka should be allowed to haunt the discussion as Lewis has done. Aśmaka on the Godavari and Aśvak in Afganistan were entirely two different geographical place-names and the ghost of their identity should be varied once for all. I have shown in my 'Pāṇini' book that Aśmaka, Aśva, Aśvaka and Hāstināyana were four independent peoples of whom the latter three belong to the Swat valley (*India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 453-54) :—

1. Aśmaka, same as Assaka of Western India cave inscription, with capital at Pratishṭhāna (modern Paiṭhan) on the Godavari.
2. Aśva ; the derivative Aśvāyana (Pāṇini. 4.1.110), Greek *Aspasioi*, in the valley of the river Kunar or Chitaral.
3. Aśvaka, the derivative Aśvakāyan (Pāṇini. 4.1.99,), Greek *Assakenoi*, settled between the Swat and the Punjkora rivers and occupying the highlands with capital at Massaga or Maśkāvatī.
4. Hastin, derivative Hastināyana (Pāṇini, 6.4.174), Greek *Astakenoi*, settled near the confluence of the Swat and the Kabul rivers, with capital at Pushkalāvatiī or modern Charsadda.

These four names with Aśmaka in the south and the three others in the north-west were a reality of ancient Indian geography and should not be confused one way or other. With respect to the Aśvāyana and Aśvakāyana tribes of the north-west we may draw attention to the Choes river of the Greeks, the same as Svaspa of the Avesta (Zamyad Yasht), equal to Sanskrit Svaśva meaning the region of excellent horses (Modi, Asiatic Papers, Vol. II. p. 207).

In his identification of Kuru Janapada, Lewis is not right in mentioning the region of Thaneshwar with that of Hastinapur. For the sake of geographical clarity it must be stated that the ancient Indian writers distinguished three geographical names, 1. Kuru-rāshṭra, stretching between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā with Hastinapur and later Indraprastha as capital; 2. Kurukshetra, with the central point at Thaneshwar which was the region of the Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvati rivers; 3. Kuru-jāṅgala the extensive area from Sirsā to north-Rajasthan which even now goes by the name of jāṅgala and on which basis the erstwhile rulers of Bikaner were known as Jangaladhara Patshah.

Pañchāla—In suggesting a location of this janapada we should remember that the ancient geographers mention three distinct divisions, viz., Uttara Pañchāla, Dakshiṇa Pañchāla and Pūrva Pañchāla; the first two to the west of the Rāmagaṅgā river and the third to east.

Śālva—Its identification with the region of Alwar extending upto portions of north-Rajasthan has been shown in my book '*Pāṇini*' together with the geographical extension of the whole confederacy of its member States designated as *Śālvāvayava*. In the Gopath Brāhmaṇa Śālva is mentioned as a pair janapada with Matsya which definitely shows that their boundaries were adjacent to each other. About Matsya we say definitely that its capital was Vairata, modern Vairata in Jaipur and therefore Śālva must have coincided with the territory extending from Alwar to north Bikaner. The Śālveyas were an ancillary group descended from the Śālvas.

Mādreya—Like Śālva and Śālvaya, Madra and Mādreya also were names of two associated peoples. We know that the Madras have their capital at Śākala or Sialkot in north-Punjab. It is not necessary to tie the Mādreyas with the Śalvayas as Lewis has done. The identification of these two names takes us to the story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān. There Sāvitrī was the daughter of the king of Madras and Satyavān of the king of Śālvas. When they were married Satyavān, son of king Dyumatsena of the Śālvas was living in a forest, being deprived of his kingdom. After Sāvitrī and Satyavān got married and restored to their former glory both the Madras and the Śālvas contributed contingence of forces as sign of their goodwill. The former were known as *Madrakāra* i. e. the armed soldiers of Madras, and the latter were known as *Śālvasenayaḥ* i. e. the army of Śālvas. It appears that these were the branches of the Madras and Śālvas and may have been designated as Mādreyāḥ and Śālveyāḥ respectively. Their location may be sought for in the region between the boundaries of Madra janapada in the north and of the Śālva janapada in the south.

Jāṅgala—Its identification with the flat between the Gaṅgā and Uttara Pañchāla does not fit in so well as with the territory called Jāṅgala or Kuru-jāṅgala as indicated above.

Śūrasena—It is a well known janapada which does not present any problem either of reading or identification.

Bhadrakāra—In face of clear textual evidence, it is unwarranted to confuse Bhadrakāra with Madrakāra. The word ('Kāra' as had been long ago pointed out by Przyluski, denoted a soldier, a meaning preserved in old Iranian (my *Pāṇini*, p. 57) and also authenticated in Sanskrit in these names. The members of the Bhadra clan and of the Madra clan who lived by the profession of arms (*Sastropajīvin*) i. e. the Ayudhajīvin saṅghas were known by these two names of Bhadrakāra and Madrakāra, the former being located in north-Rajasthan near the border of south Punjab. The modern town of Bhadra on an old bed of Dṛishadvatī or Ghaggar (see my 'Pāṇini kālīna Bhāratavarsha, p. 73) seems to be the ancient capital of Bhadrakāra tribe. Although linguistically *Bhadrākaroti* and *Madrākaroti* are closely allied and perhaps inter-changeable, it seems safer and better warranted to treat the two names as having been distinct, as also indicated by Kūrma-Vibhāga evidence of Bṛihat-Saṁhitā, as pointed out by Lewis.

Paṭachchura—This tribal name is the reading in several texts and mentioned many times in the Mahābhārata. It is preserved in the modern name Pataudi in south-east Punjab. Lewis has identified it with modern Allahabad and Banda districts but that would be tearing it from its geographical context and without any good reason. It is also mentioned by Pāṇini as part of the Paladyādi-gaṇa 4.2.110. The etimology of the name referring to 'waylayers,' those who live by hit and run tactics points to this area where at one time the Ābhīras attacked the retinue of Arjuna and decamped with the women of Yadava tribe from Dvārakā.

Bodha—The Bhīshma-Parva mentions it along with Kuliṅga, Śālva and Mādreya and they should be located somewhere in south-east Punjab upto Pathankot. Patañjali mentions them as connected with the Udumbaras (Sūtra 2.4.48).

Kulya—The correct reading should await a critical text but tentatively Kulūta or Kulūna may be suggested as a relevant form of the name in the context of Madhya-deśa; since Kulinda in Kirfel's text and Kuliṅga in Sircar's text are included in the Uttarāpatha list, it seems reasonable that one of the names should be included in Madhya-deśa and the other in the Udīchya list. So far as the geographical consistency is concerned the name Kuniṅga denoting the head-waters of Yamunā river in Dehradun district may be assigned to the Madhya-deśa list. The reference to *Kola* as an old name of Aligarh on the authority of Chaudhuri is hardly worth considering.

2. Udīchya Janapada List

The list of the Udīchya Janapadas is comparatively large and also of greater significance for the historical geography of Bhāratavarsha.

Bāhlīka—The comments offered by Lewis on the identification of this tribe as once in Bactria and then in the Punjab are involved. The fact is that both according to the evidence of the Atharva-Veda (V. 22. 5, 7, 9) and of the Old Persian Inscriptions of Darius I Bāhlīka janapada was placed in north-west Afganistan which became famous as Bactria amongst the Greek geographers. Here a question arises as to why in the Mahābhārata Punjab is sometimes referred to as Vāhīka and at other time as Vālhīka. The veil over this confusion can be lifted with some clarity. Originally the Yavanas or Greeks who had settled in Bactria were designated in Purāṇic tradition as Bālhīka-Yavana (Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa 16.18), a very appropriate Sanskrit name of the Bactrian Greeks. Later on those Bactrian Greeks transferred themselves to the Punjab and a new name became necessary for them. In this changed historical and Geographical context they were designated as Madraka-Yavana, or simply Madrakas. But the term Bālhīka also continued to be used for them and this gave rise to the appellation Bālhīka being applied to Vāhīka which was the ancient Sanskrit name for the land of Five Rivers, as authenticated both by Pāṇini and the Mahābhārata. The Bālhīkas of the present list belong to an earlier stratum of historical geography and should be identified with the Janapada of that name in north-west Afganistan. Kamboja, Bālhīka, Kāpiśī and Gandhāra were the Janapadas in the north-west which were contiguous to each other and amongst themselves do adequately explain the problems of geographical identification in this extensive area.

Âprīta—The Reading Aparānta or Paranta should be rejected and there seems hardly any doubt that the correct reading was Āprīta as supported by the Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu Purāṇas and as rightly accepted by Lewis. The evidence about the Āprītas and their neighbouring tribe the Madhumantas is overwhelming in Sanskrit literature as brought together in my book 'India as known to Pāṇini' (pp. 36, 453). The word 'Āprīta' seems to be a later popular form of the original name 'Aparīta' meaning 'irresistible', a term which occurs in the Ṛigveda (RV. V. 29.14).

Vāṭadhāna—A common name in the Mahābhārata of which the most probable location with Bhatnair as suggested by Dey is accepted by Lewis, *Ābhīra*—Both the Ābhīras and the Śūdras are mentioned in this list. Fortunately there is enough geographical evidence to identify them with historical peoples settled in the north-western region, as I have shown in my *Paṇini.* Patañjali mentions Brāhmaṇaka and Vṛishalaka as names of countries corresponding to the Brāhmaṇa *janapada* and the Śūdra *janapada* respectively. The Brāhmaṇa janapada is referred to in Pāṇini's sūtra 5.2.71, and according to the *Kāśikā* was the home of an Āyudhajīvī Saṅgha (*Yatrāyudhopajīvino Brāhmaṇāḥ santi*). They were the *Brachmanoi* of the Greeks, located in middle Sind, and the same as Brāhmaṇavaha of Rājaśekhara and identified with modern Brahmanabad. The Śūdras, coupled with the Brāhmaṇas, were thus a people of Upper Sind and the Ābhīras mentioned along with them in the compound name *Śūdrābhīram* naturally may be identified with the Ābhīra tribe settled to the east of the Śūdras along the banks of the Sarasvatī. The verse quoted by Lewis from the Mahābhārata almost makes this identification certain,

Śūdra--The reading Śūdra seems to have been the original one and the alternative kshudra may be left out of consideration.

Kālatoyaka—The reading is found in all the texts. Pargiter suggested its location in the Delta of the Indus, but it seems that the literal meaning 'region of the black water' agrees better with the area of the Suleman mountain which is identified with Trikakut, the home of the *Traikakuda añjana* or the collyrium of that name.

Charma-khaṇḍika—The reading is correct but the identification is uncertain. Literally it means a people who were fond of wearing skins, sewn as a garment or *postīn*, Lewis suggests to identify it with Samarkand, but there is a linguistic difficulty, because the word *'kand'* cannot be derived from *khaṇḍa* but from Sanskrit '*Kanthā*', meaning a town which was akin to Scythian *Kanth-kand* (*India as known to Pāṇini*, 67-68). Several other *kanthā*-ending place-names occur in that area as Tashkand, Chinkand, Yarkand, etc.. Then the first word *'samar'* means fruit and is not a corrupt form of *Charma*. For the identification of Charma-khaṇḍa we have one suggestion to make. The word *'postīn'*, skin, is derived from Vedic *pavasta* (RV. X. 27. 7.) of which two were used sewn together to make a full waist-coat (*dve pavaste pari taṁ na bhūto yo asya pāre rajaso viveśa*). Traces of the word *'pavasta'* are found in the name *Pavinda* or *Povinda*, a well-known tribe of the North-West, mentioned also in Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha (4.1.110). Charma-khaṇḍika (wearers of *charma*-pieces) and Pavinda suppliers of *pavi* or *postin* point to the same meaning.

Gandhāra and *Yavana*—Here Gandhāra stands for the well-known Mahājanapada stretching on the two sides of the Indus, namely Pūrva-Gandhāra with capital at Takshaśilā and Apara-Gandhāra with capital at Pushkalāvatī. Yavana in this context brings us to the Greek settlements of some pre-Alexendrian colonies, such as Nysa.

Sindhu-Sauvīra-Madraka—These three were well-known *janapada* names, of which the identification is also certain. Madraka is the same as Madra with capital at Śākala, modern Sialkot. Sindhu was the region of Sindhu-sagar Doab extending to the east of the Indus. Sauvīra with capital at Roruka was the same as Upper Sind where Roruka may be identified with modern Rori.

Śatadruja–Śatadravāḥ or Śatadrujāḥ seems to have been the correct reading and it should be located in the upper course of the Satlaj in the Rampur-Basahar area.

Kulinda—Two readings are available here, viz. Kulinda (Kirfel) and Kuṇinda (Sircar). It would be appropriate from the geographical point of view to put Kuṇinda in the list of Madhya-deśa and Kulinda in this list. Both should be clearly distinguished as Kuṇinda belongs to the head-waters of the Yamunā and Kulinda, Kulina and Kulūta to the Kullu valley in Kangra.

Pārada—They were a people distinct from the Pahlvas, as Lewis rightly takes them. The Pāradas seem to be occupying some area in Baluchistan in the region of the Hingula tribes since *Pārada* and *Hiṅgula* are synonymous terms.

Hārahūraka—The reading of Matsya is *Hāramūrtika*, of Vāyu *Hārapūrika*, of Mārkaṇḍeya *Hārāmūshika*, of Vāmana *Samūshaka*. Sircar accepts *Hārahūṇaka* and Kirfel *Hāramūrtika*, Lewis prefers Sircar's reading and confuses Hārahūṇa with Hārahaura of Rājaśekhara. In fact what Lewis writes about White Hūṇas, taking *hāra* as white and also invoking the reference of Kālidasa to the Hūṇas of the fourth century and of the Bṛihat-Saṁhita of the 6th century is quite irrelevant, Factually *Hārahūraka* was quite another geographical term authenticated in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya as a pair word with *Kāpiśāyana*. I had pointed out the significance of these two terms in my *Pāṇini* stating that Hārahūraka was situated in the valley of the Harahvaiti or Arghandab in south Afganistan and Kāpiśī in north Afganistan (*Pāṇini*, p- 118). Rajaśekhara was right in mentioning Hārahūra as a janapada of the north and there is no reason why it should be changed to Hārahūṇa. The reading Hārapūrika in the Vāyu comes nearer to Hārahūraka and a reconstituted Purāṇic text of the Bhuvanakośa may recapture the original reading. The bringing in of the White Hūṇas as part of this list is a violence to the earlier stratum of this geography. It is high time that scholars working on the Bhuvanakośa geography recognize the fact that there are two lists of janapadas quite independent of and separate from each other.

The first was the ancient janapada list incorporated in the Bhuvanakośa chapters. This is found in ten Purāṇas. The second list was prepared at a much later date, almost 1000 years later and contains many new names in accordance with the historical and geographical background of the Kushāṇa-Gupta ages. The latter list is named the Kūrma-Vibhāga. In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa we find that the Bhuvanakośa list is given in Ch. 57 and the Kūrma-Vibhāga list in Ch. 58. The *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* gives only the later Kūrma-Vibhāga list. I had pointed out the relative chronology and identification of the names in the two lists in my Hindi book '*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa—ek Sanskritik Adhyayana*' (Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1961). A lot of confusion in the study of ancient Indian janapada names could be avoided by detecting this distinction between the two lists, and bringing a fresh study to bear on the names incorporated in them.

Ramaṭha—We would accept Lewis's location of them near Ghazni which was also called Jāguḍa.

Kaṇṭakāra—Although the reading is found in all the texts, no certain identification can be suggested.

Daśamālika—If this reading is genuine, as it seems to be, this may be the same as the Daśamaṇḍala of Lohita mentioned in the Sabhā-parva (24.16), who occupied the mountainous regions of central and north-east Afganistan (*Vyajayat lohitaṁ caiva maṇḍalair daśabhiḥ saha*). They have been identified by me with the mountainous tribe called *Rohita-girīyāḥ* as explained by the Kāśikā, *Pāṇini*, 4. 3. 91, (cf. my *Pāṇini*, pp. 434-35). They were known as the inhabitants of Roha in medieval geography. The alternative suggestion to identify them with *Dāsamīyāḥ* as done by Lewis leaves the location uncertain.

Kamboja—The reading is certain according to all texts. The view of Roychoudhury to identify Kamboja with Rajapura (modern Rajauri) cannot be accepted in view of that region being known as Abhisāra with Dārva to the east and Uraśā (modern Hazara) to the west. After accounting for these three janapadas we still have a bunch of four other Mahājanapadas which should be accounted for, viz., Gandhāra, Kāpiśī, Bālhīka and Kamboja. The location of Gandhāra is well known as occupying the region from Rawalpindi to Kabul. Beyond that was Kapiśa extending upto the south of Hindukush. Beyond

Hindukush in the north-west of Afganistan was the Mahājanapada of Bālhīka which at times was also known as the Yavana country, most probably with reference to the Bactrian Greeks settled there who were known as Bālhīka-Yavanas as shown above on the authority of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. With these locations before us if we look at the map the only other region in which to find a place for Kamboja is that of the head waters of the Oxus, viz. the country of the Pamir (see my *Pāṇini*, pp. 48-49). The location of Kamboja in Kafiristan as proposed by Lewis is also not free from difficulty, since the Kafiristan-Kohistan area was the ancient kingdom of Kāpīśī (modern Begram) where an inscription mentioning the ancient name has been found. The pair name Yavana-Kamboja occurs in the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva 102.5., Poona edition) indicating that their geographical position was contiguous. The Yavanas as mentioned above were the Bactrian Greeks and an echo of this historical position is reflected in the Purāṇic description where the Yavanas are said to be occupying the western frontier and the Kirātas the eastern (*Pūrve kirātā hyasyānte paśchime yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ*, Vāyu 45.82). It seems therefore logical from several points of view that the ancient Kamboja janapada was the same as the region of Meru or Pamir in Central Asia. It does not raise any difficulty so far as the available evidence is concerned. Prof. Jaychand Vidyalankara and before him Lassch had suggested this identification which, in our opinion, should stand. There seems to be no violence to this identification of Kamboja by my drawing attention to Kambujiya occurring in the old Persian inscription of Darius where the name implied one who originally came from the Kambuja country. There is nothing to prevent its application to Kambysis.

Aṅga-laukika—The suggestion of Lewis to identify this name with Aṅga-lokya through whose territory the River Sītā is said to flow according to the Matsya Purāṇa seems to be right.

Chīna—It should be taken as some janapada towards Chinese Turkistan.

Tushāra—This name refers to the Tocharians or the Scythian tribe known as the yue-chi in history. They were a branch of the Ṛishikas and were occupying territories in the region of the Oxus from Pamir to Badakshan.

Barabara—This tribe has been identified with the Barabaras of the Indus Delta. Lewis throws a doubt on this identification and puts them in the region of the Himalayas where no such people is known. In this list we find mention of Sauvīra in Upper Sind as well as the Śūdras of the same area and it is therefore no problem that the same list of janapadas also included the Barabaras of Lower Sind.

There are other janapada names of which the location seems to be fairly indicated in the Indian geographical tradition, viz. Lampāka frequently mentioned represents modern Laghaman in Afganistan ; Jāguḍa has been identified with the area round about Ghazani in south Afganistan ; Ātreya and Bhāradwāja with modern Garhwal ; Śūlika with Chūlika in Central Asia ; Prasthala with Patiala. The term '*Vāhyato narāḥ*' would refer to the frontier tribes settled beyond the Indus, and this name persisted in Sanskrit Buddhist literature where the monks of the north-west were generally referred to as the foreigners (*Bāhya*). The reading *Āpagas* takes us to the river of that name which flowed through the Madra country, but if the original reading is found in some manuscripts to be *Auraśa*, as Sircar has suggested, then the difficulty would be resolved, since we know of the Uraśa-Janapada in this area which is identified with the district sf Hazara. Dārva (Jammu—Duggar), Abhisāra (Punch—Rajauri) and Uraśa are three janapada names forming a sūtra with contiguous geographical location.

Tomara—It should not be shifted to distant Assam as Lewis has done, but should be located somewhere in the northwest in association with the Haṁsamārgas (Hunza). Perhaps they may be represented by the modern Torawals. I have pointed out elsewhere that there were two routes which the migratory birds from India pursue in their flight towards the north, the one called Haṁsamārga identified with the modern Hunza territory and the other Krauñcha-dvāra the pass in the north-east of Almora through which birds of the duck family still fly towards Kailāsa-Mānsarovara. Even today a virtual river of the Avian population flows along these two routes in the beginning of summer for breeding in the colder regions and the ancient peoples with their keen observation rightly designated the mid-point of their crossing as Haṁsa-mārga and Krauñcha-dvāra respectively.

There can be no question of the reading Hūṇa in this region as taken by Kirfel and with some doubt by Sircar and Lewis also, because the Hūṇas come much later on the stage of Indian historical geography. The Matsya omits them and the Vāyu reads *Pūrṇa* which Sircar would restore as Ūrṇa. I think that Ūrṇa was the correct reading, which seems to be the same as Unasar described by Aurel Stein in the course of Alexander's campaign. There is also in the Swat valley the famous fortress of Aornos which was strongly defeneded and which put a stiff resistance against the attack of the Greek invader. I have suggested that the latter be identified with the Varaṇā of Pāṇini. The name Ūrṇa signifying the country of the woollen stuff points to the Swat valley which has been the home of weaving woollen blankets and rugs for the last more than three thousand years.

Âhuka is the reading of Vāyu and seems to have been original, standing for Kuhuka or sometimes Huhuka, viz. inhabitants of the Kabul valley.

3. Janapadas of Pūrva-deśa

In this list Aṅga, Vaṅga, Madguraka of the Matsya are well known.

It is strange that the two names Antargiri and Bahirgiri should have been so summarily dismissed by Lewis suggesting an identification with some peoples living in the area of Rajamahal Hills. This is palpably a wrong identification in the face of the clear evidence which I have explained in my *Pāṇini* on the basis of the Ashṭādhyāyī and the Sabhāparva (*India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 39). The fact is that there are three geographical terms which should be clearly understood, namely, *Antargiri*, *Bahirgiri* and *Upagiri*—

अन्तर्गिरिं च कौन्तेयस्तथैव च बहिर्गिरिम् ।
तथोपरिगिरिं चैव विजिग्ये पुरुषर्षभः ॥

(Sabhāparva 24. 2, Poona Edition)

These three comprised all the mountaineous tracts in the region of the Himalayas (*Vijitya parvatān sarvān ye cha tatra narādhipāḥ*, Sabhāparva 24.3.). The three above terms correspond exactly to the three portions of the Himalayas in an ascending order from the planes to the higher peaks, e. g., if we start from the plains the first to encounter is the area of the Tarai in Nepal, Bhabhar in Nainital and Doon in Dehradun districts, which has a height of 1000 to 2000 ft. above sea level, and which can be clearly seen while going from Haradwar to Dehradun. This is the area of sub mountainous tracts called *Upagiri* in ancient times which was the same as *Upatyakā* of the Himalayas, the prefix *upa* being common to both. After Dehradun abruptly the ascent begins and only within a range of seven miles we reach Mussorie which is at a height of 6,500 ft. above see-level. Other similar peaks are Nainital, Simla, Dharmashala, Shrinagar etc. situated along the heights of what is now known as the Lesser Himalaya. This was known as *Chulla-Himavanta* in Pali literature and *Bahirgiri* in Sanskrit. If we go beyond it we are face to face with the higher peaks of the Himalayas ranging in altitude from 18000 to 29,000 ft. These include the peaks which are perpetually covered with snow like

Kanchanjangha, Gaurishankar, Everest, Dhawalagiri, Nandadevi, Nanga-parvat, etc. In Pali literature this was known by the appropriate name of *Mahā-Himavanta,* which in English is known as the Great Central Himalaya. This was called *Antargiri* in Sanskrit geography. The ancient geographers and travellers had a clear conception of these three portions of the Himalayas. According to an ancient grammarian known as Senaka two of these had alternative forms as *Antargiram* and *Bahirgiram,* and according to the Purāṇas the inhabitants of these regions were known as *Antargirīyāḥ, Bahirgirīyāḥ* ; (for a fuller exaplanation of these terms see my Hindi book *Pāṇinikālina Bhāratvarsha,* pp. 43-44).

In this list Pravaṅga is given besides Vaṅga and the former may be identified with North Bengal known as Pundra-Vardhan and the latter with East Bengal.

The list includes both Tāmraliptaka and Suhma which appears to be contradictory because in later literature Tāmralipti was included in Suhma as its capital. It seems that Tāmralipti was confined to the seaport area and its hinterland was known as Suhma. The identification of Brahmottara is uncertain, but the region now called Burdwan (ancient Vardhamāna) does not find a place here and it is likely that they were known as Brahmottara when this list was compiled. The readings *Muṇḍa* in Vāyu and *Gonarda* in Kirfel, Sircar and Lewis give the clue to the two aboriginal tribes called *Munda* and *Gond.*

Bhārgava is a difficult term but most likely it refers to the clans of Brahminical descent following the profession of arms as Bhṛigupati Paraśurāma did. These appear to be the same as Śarmaka-Varmaka of the Mahābhārata conquered by Bhīma in his eastern campign—

शर्मकान्वर्मकांश्चैव सान्त्वेनैवाजयत्प्रभुः ।
वैदेहकं च राजानं जनकं जगतीपतिम् ॥

(Sabhāparva, 27.12, Poona edition).

These should be identified with tribes like the ancient Lichchhavis, and others in that area. Their modern representatives may be the Bhūmihāra Brahmanas who also follow a Brahman-Kshtriya pattern of life. We may also remember in this connection that there was also a janapada in this area called Bharga and the reading Bharga accepted by Sircar seems suggestive, but should await a critical text to be constituted later. One would like to identify Bharga with the region of the ancient Bhaggas.

Mallavartaka or *Malavartika* is supported by most of the texts and it should be identified either with the Mallas, in ancient republican tribe, or with the Malla-hill which Dey states to have been the name of the Parasnath Hill.

4. Janapada List of Dakshiṇā-patha

Fortunately a good number of names in this list are of clear identification, for example, Pāṇḍya, Kerala, Chola, Setuka, Vanavāsika, Mahārāshṭra, Kaliṅga, Śabara, Pulinda, Vidarbha, Daṇḍaka, Kuntala, Āndhra. The Kumārās probably were the same as those of Cape Kamorin as Lewis takes them. Mūshika should better be identified with modern Hyderabad region where the river Musi flows. Mahishaka has been taken by Lewis to be along the Narbadā around Māhishmatī, but a much better identification of the Mahishaka country in South India is with the region of Mysore which is still traditionally known as the Mahisha country. About the kingdom of Ābhiras whose coins also have been found and published by Rapson, they represent the territory round about Nasik in the Bombay Presidency.

One thing worth mentioning about this list is the inclusion of the names of aboriginal peoples, for example, Muṇḍa in Pūrvadeśa and Śabara and Pulinda here. The Āṭavya people should be identified with the wild tribes of Vindhyāṭavī described at length by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the Harshacharitra. According to the Mahābhārata, Āraṇyakaparvan, the Vindhya forest began from the river Vetravatī and extended far upto Kosala. It was this area which Damayantī crossed in the company of caravan traders until she reached the south Kosala country. The Śabaras were a tribe spread far and wide but concentrated in the area along the Śabarī river which is still known by this name.

The name *Ishīka* is uncertain, but in the western Indian cave inscriptions we find reference to the janapada name *Isika* which was a Prakrit form of Ṛishika, identified by Professor Mirashi with modern Khandesh. Maulaka also is an interesting name and its identification with ancient Mūlaka situated in Ahmadnagar district, as proposed by Professor Mirashi, should be accepted.

Aśmaka together with Mūlaka and Ṛishika in the Dakshiṇāpatha area was a janapada which should be definitely located at Paithan on the Godāvarī. Scholars have needlessly confused Aśmaka with Aśvaka of Afganistan. The identification of Kola with Kollagiri of the Allahabad inscription seems better warranted. Nalakālika may have been either Nallamalai or Nalakoṇḍa. Udbhida and Śūlika in this region are uncertain names.

5. Janapada List of Aparānta

The following names in this list are clear enough :

Śūlapāraka, Nāsikya, Bharukachha, Māheya, Sārasvata, Kachchīya, Saurāshṭra, Ānarta, Antar-narmada, Tāpeya. Anūpa was situated along the banks of the Narmadā with Māhishmatī as capital. Durgā is given in the Purāṇas as a tributary of Sabaramati and there seems to be no violence if that identification is accepted since the regions between the Mahī and Sarasvatī occur in this list.

6. Janapadas of Vindhyan Region

Malada—This reading as proposed by Lewis is certainly superior and the pair name Malada-Karūsha authenticated by the

Rāmāyaṇa supports the original Purāṇic reading. The name Malada however seems to have some reference to the region beyond the Karmanāśā river which was supposed to bring impurity to those who crossed it. Mekala, Utkala, Daśārṇa, Bhoja, Tosala, Kosala, Traipura, Vaidiśa, Naishadha and Avanti are well-known. Tumbavana may well be Tumain as taken by Sircar. Kishkindhā in this region is perplexing, but according to the views of some writers that Laṅkā was situated in Madhya Pradesh, Kishikindhā will have to be located in the Vindhya region.

7. Janapadas of Himalaya

In this list there is a considerable repetition of names already included in the Udīchya list. Haṁsa-mārga, Ūrṇa, Dārva, Huhuka, Trigarta and Kirāta have already been dealt with. Nihāra is the same as Nagarahāra identified with modern Jalalabad. Kupatha may be Kārāpatha as proposed by Lewis. The reading Tāmasa should be preferred to Tomara, the former referring to the region in the Tamasā valley which is a tributary of Jamuna in Dehradun district.

The name *Kutha-prāvaraṇa* accepted by Krifel may be preferred to *Karṇa-prāvaraṇa* of Sircar and Lewis, as both the Matsya and the Vayu support the former reading. It literally means those who were using rugs or thick woollen blankets to cover them, and on this basis it would be appropriate to identify them with the people of Nepal area who still use big blankets (chulmas) sewn as bags into which they enter at night.

Hūṇa—which is the reading of Vāyu, should be rejected in favour of Ūrṇa of Matsya which was an actual janapada name as already explained in the Udīchya list.

In spite of the several readings and identifications discussed above the text of the Bhuvana-kośa Chapters of the Purāṇas cannot be dismissed so lightly. It requires to be collated from as many good manuscripts as may be available and on that basis a critically reconstituted text should be prepared with annotations by those knowledgeable about ancient

Indian geographical tradition both of the early and later literatures. One must keep in mind the historical background as to when a particular name appears in Indian history and whether it is consistent to accept such spurious readings as that of Hūṇa interpolated in the earlier texts. There is also another note of caution which must be kept in mind, namely, that one should not confuse the early Janapada list with the later Kūrma-vibhāga list of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and the Bṛihat-Saṁhitā. This has been a greivous mistake on the part of Shafer in his *Ethnography of Ancient India* (1954) and of S. B. Chaudhury in his *A Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1955), and partly of Lewis also, all of whom have failed to appreciate the chronological relationship between the two lists removed from each other by a distance of about eight to ten centuries. The author of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa incorporated the older Bhuvana-kośa list which he had inherited and also juxtaposed with it the fresh list of the Kūrma-division which was compiled nearer his own time. The writer of the Bṛihat-Saṁhitā was more true to contemporaneous facts and he only gave acceptance to the Kūrma-vibhāga geographical conception of the country. Rājaśekhara coming four centuries later makes an amalgam of the two lists and looking to the evolution in the concept of Ancient geography which has been reached by his time he may be pardoned. Perhaps the book named Bhuvana-kośa to which he has made pointed references in the Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā would have placed us in a more favourable position to discuss the geography of his times in the tenth century, but that text is now lost beyond recovery. However, it is not very helpful to bring in Rājaśekhara's name in the Bhuvana-kośa discussions of a much earlier age, somewhere at the end of the Janapada period.

The restoration of the Bhuvana-kośa textual form is a task of the highest importance not only with respect to the geography of India but also of a much wider convass of Asia.

According to the two-fold conceptions of the *Chaturdvīpī* and the *Saptadvīpī* geography several continents of Asia are described in the Purāṇas. The former was earlier than the latter which was dovetailed into the previous one, leaving behind an utter confusion of the two texts. How they can be extricated from their present tangle has been shown in an earlier article published in this Bulletin by Rai Krishnadasa with relevant maps (Vol I, No. 2, 202-5). The sixteen chapters of the Matsya (Chapter 13-28 ; also Vāyu, Chapters 34-49) contain a mass of valuable information about the geography of the four continents situated at the four sides of Meru, namely, Bhadrāśva, Bhāratavarsha, Ketumāla and Uttarakuru. The names of their mountains, rivers and janapadas can only be elucidated by those who are competent with the knowledge of the respective languages now spoken in that broad Asian territory extending from the Russian Steppes to China and from Tibet to Siberia. This may be a. tall order, but those chapters await that lucky day.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE PURĀṆAS

By

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

English Translation of the Matsya-Purāṇa

(Panini Office, Allahabad, 1916)

The following Purāṇic topics are dealt with in its appendices :—

1. The Character and Origin of the Purāṇas. (Appendix I)
   (By B.C. Mazumdar).
2. Wilford's Table of the Kings of Magadha. (Appendix IV)
3. Wilford's Table of the Lunar Race. (Appendix V)
   (From the '*Asiatic Researches*', Vol. V).
4. The Solar Dynasty, The Mauryan Dynasty etc. (Appendix VI)
5. Pre-Mahābhārata-War Kings. (Appendix VII)
   (Extract from Mr. Pargiter's paper in *JRAS*, Jan. 1910).
6. Purāṇic Chronology. (Appendix VIII)
   (From the '*Asiatic Researches*', Vol. VIII).
   [Bentley's table of the Hindu historical periods according to an astronomical work entitled the '*Graha Mañjarī*'].
7. Purāṇic Geography and Cosmography. (Appendix IX)

Dr. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume

(Published by the Adyar Library, Madras, 1946)

Vedic Mantras and Legends in the Purāṇas.

(By P. V. Kane).

[In this article, besides discussing the relation of some Purāṇic legends with Vedic mantras, Ṛgvedic mantras with the parallel verses from the Brahma-Purāṇa are given. Throughout the article the references are to the Ṛgveda and the Brahma-Purāṇa].

A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies

(Presented to Prof. F.W. Thomas; edited by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode.).

1. *The Cosmographical Episode in Mahābhārata and Padma-Purāṇa* (By S. K. Belvalkar, Banaras).

[Chapters 5 to 13 of the Poona edition of the Bhīṣma-Parvan of the Mahābhārata constitute the cosmographical episode. Similar accounts, as traditionally received, are also found in the various Purāṇas. There is not only material agreement but also verbal coincidences, covering lines after lines, in these different cosmographical accounts. The whole question has been exhaustively dealt with by W. Kirfel in his German treatise, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*.

The cosmographical accounts given in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma-Parvan) and the Padma-Purāṇa (Ān. ed., Ādi, Kh., Chs. 3-9) have internal verbal parallels. Dr. Belvalkar has shown in this article that the author of the Padma-Purāṇa was indebted to the Mahābhārata for his cosmographical accounts. Dr. L. Hilgenberg (a pupil of Dr. Kirfel), on the contrary, tried to show in her German monograph, *Die Kosmographische Episode in Mahābhārata and Padma-purāṇa*, that the Mahābhārata account is based on that of the Padma-Purāṇa. This theory of Dr. Hilgenberg has been refuted here by Dr. Belvalkar on the strength of some parallel passages in the two cosmographical accounts. In some of these passages the Sūta of the Padma-Purāṇa uses singular verbs शृणु and निबोध for ऋषयः (Padma, I. 9.20 ; I. 6.33), whereas in the corresponding passages of the Mbh.(VI. 12.20 ; VI. 9.38) these two singular verbs have been rightly used for धृतराष्ट्र by संजय.]

2. *On the Original Text of the Krishṇa-Epic*

(By Walter Ruben)

[The Brahma-Purāṇa contains the shortest recension of the story of the youth and the heroic deeds of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. A fuller record of the same is found in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. The Kṛṣṇa-epic of the Viṣṇu-P. has been composed afresh in the Harivaṁśa, Bhāgavata and Brahmavaivarta. The part of the Harivaṁśa comprising the life story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is fundamentally the same as in the Brahma-Purāṇa. The writer has tried to reconstruct the archetype of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's *Kāliya-adventures.* In his opinion this archetype contained only 33 stanzas, while the Brahma-P. contains 56, Viṣṇu-P. 80, Hariv. 109, Bhāg. 60, Br.-Vaiv. 168, Padma-P. 6 and Agni-P. only 1 stanza.]

A Volume of Studies in Indology

(Presented to Prof. P. V. Kane; edited by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode, 1941).

1. *The Andhras in Ancient India*

(By B. C. Law)

[The earliest mention of the Andhras is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. According to the Mahābhārata (XII. 207.42) and the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣ. Kāṇḍa, 41.12), the Andhras were indigenous to the Deccan and occupied the Godāvarī-Kṛṣṇā valley. The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (57.42) mentions in the list of peoples inhabiting the eastern countries a tribe called the Andhras, but in 57.48-49 it places the Andhras in the southern region. The great Sātavāhanas are claimed by the Purāṇas to have been Andhras or Andhra-bhṛtyas. According to the Vāyu-Purāṇa the Andhra (i. e. the Sātavāhana) dynasty had five different branches]

2. *An Obscure Passage in the Purāṇas.*

(By H. C. Seth, Amraoti)

[The passage referred to here is about the ending of the Kali age and starting of the Kṛta-yuga. It is contained in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Ch. 24, Śl. 35, 39, 42, 45, 46; also cf. Vāyu-P. 32. 38 ff; and Ch. 99; Matsya 273. 56 ff, Brahmāṇḍa, III. 74. 250, etc. In the older Indian historical tradition, Kali-age itself seems to be a definite historical period, the climax of which reached with the Nandas; and after this Devāpi and Maru created a new Kṛta age. So in the older Purāṇic tradition Kali-age seems to have ended with the destruction of the

Nandas. In the later Purāṇic traditions, however, Kali-age was extended indefinitely beyond the Mahābhārata.]

3. *Tīrtha-yātrā in the Āraṇyaka-Parvan and the Padma-Purāṇa.*

(By M. V. Vaidya, Poona)

[The Epic, as it stands today, may not be free from Purāṇic influence. A considerable amount of textual matter overlaps in the above-mentioned literature. The Padma-Purāṇa in particular has many points of contact with the Mahābhārata. This Purāṇa has definitely borrowed the narration of tīrthas occurring in it from the Mahābhārata. The Padma-Purāṇa version of the tīrtha-yātrā (An. ed., Ādikh., Ch. 10-39) entirely follows the Northern recension, specially the Bengali recension, of the Mbh. (cf. Tīrtha-yātra Sub-Parvan in the Araṇyaka Parvan, Chapters 80-83 of the Cri-ed.)].

4. *The Matsyāvatāra of Viṣṇu*

(By A. P. Karmarkar, Bombay)

[The saving of Manu from the great deluge is narrated in the Śatapatha Br. (I. 8), the Mahābhārata (Vana p., Ch. 87), the Matsya-Purāṇa (Ch. 1), the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (Sk. VIII, ch. 24) and also in some other Purāṇas.

Fish-emblem of God Śiva (Āṇ) was worshipped in the Matsya country. The earliest inhabitants of India were totem worshippers. The totem of the tribe of Mīnas was the Mīna (or the fish) which was further identified with Āṇ, the prototype of God Śiva. In one of the passages of the Skanda-Purāṇa (Maheśvara Kh., Ke. Kh , Adh. 17) Śiva is addressed to as 'Mīna'.

It is probable that just after the flood subsided, both the exploits—saving the humanity in Northern India from great calamity, and saving the Vedas—were attributed to the Fish, the original God of the Mīnas. As time went on, the legend of the Fish underwent different stages of transformation in India, and finally the advocates of Vaiṣṇavism attributed all the doings of the Fish to their supreme God Viṣṇu.]

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

During the period under review (June–November, 62) the following activities of the Kashiraj Trust were carried out.

CRITICAL EDITIONS OF THE PURĀṆAS

1. *Matsya-Purāṇa-Edition*

As already stated before, the text of the Matsya-Purāṇa is being critically edited by Dr. V. Raghavan at Madras. In the last issue of the 'Purāṇa' (Vol. IV, No. 2) a sample edition of the first chapter of the Matsya-Purāṇa was offered by Dr. Raghavan. This was published with a view to show the progress of the work as well as to invite opinions of scholars. We are glad that some scholars have already sent us their observations. We are thankful to them and particularly to Dr. P. L. Vaidya, General Editor of the Mahābhārata, BORI, Poona, and to Prof. Dr. P. Hacker of the Bonn University (Germany), for sending their valuable suggestions, which are being carefully studied by the Editor.

In addition to this, the following work in connection with the preparation of the Matsya-Edition has also been done at Madras :—

(1) Readings and other editorial data for the constitution of the text of the Matsya-Purāṇa for chapters 2-11 were collected from the collation-sheets and different external testimonial. Chs. 2 and 3 are now being constituted, and the critical material is being written.

(2) The two assistant Pandits of Dr. Raghavan visited the Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore, for examining about 30 manuscripts containing Matsya extracts on śānti, dāna, rājābhiṣeka and diverse māhātmyas; and certain amount of critical material and variants were collected from these manuscripts.

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

गतेषु षट्सु मासेषु (जून-नवम्बर १९६२) सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य यत् कार्यजातं सम्पन्नं तस्य विवरणमत्र प्रस्तूयते ।

पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मकानि संस्करणानि

१. मत्स्यपुराणसंस्करणम्

मत्स्यपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं मद्रासनगरे डा. वे० राघवन्महोदयैः सम्पाद्यमानं वर्त्तते इति तु पूर्वमेव निवेदितम् । मत्स्य-प्रथमाध्यायस्य आदर्शरूपं पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं डा. वे० राघवन्महोदयैः प्रस्तुतमासीत्, तच्च मत्स्यपुराणसम्पादनकार्यस्य प्रगतिद्योतनार्थं विद्वत्-सम्मति-लाभार्थं च पुराण-पत्रिकायाः गताङ्के (भाग ४, अङ्क २) प्रकाशितमासीत् । केचन प्राच्यविद्याविशारदा विद्वांसः, विशेषतश्च भाण्डारकरप्राच्यशोधसंस्थाने महाभारतसम्पादकत्वभारं वहन्तः श्री डा. पी० एल० वैद्यमहोदयाः, जर्मनदेशीय-बोन-विश्वविद्यालये प्राच्यविद्याप्राध्यापकाः श्री डा. पी० हैकरमहोदयाश्च, स्वसम्मतिप्रेषणेनानुगृहीतवन्तोऽस्मान्; एतदर्थं वयं तेषां परं कृतज्ञाः स्मः । तेषां सम्मतयः, प्रस्तावाश्च सम्पादकमहोदयै र्विचार्यमाणाः सन्ति ।

मद्रासनगरे मत्स्यपुराण-संस्करण-सम्पादनसंबन्धि यदन्यदपि कार्यजातं निष्पन्नं तदधो निर्दिश्यते—

(१) मत्स्यपुराणस्य २-११ अध्यायानां पाठनिर्धारणार्थं पाठसंवादपत्रेभ्यः पाठाः संकलिताः, पाठसमीक्षोपयोगिभ्यो बाह्याधारेभ्यश्च पाठसमीक्षासामग्री च संगृहीता । इदानीं द्वितीयस्य तृतीयस्य चाध्यायस्य पाठाः विचार्यन्ते, समीक्षात्मिका सामग्री च लेखबद्धा क्रियते ।

(२) डा. वे० राघवन्महोदयस्य द्वौ सहायकौ तंजौरनगरस्य सरस्वती-महालनाम्नि ग्रन्थागारे वर्तमानान् त्रिंशत् कोशान् द्रष्टुं तत्र प्रेषितौ । तेषु कोशेषु मत्स्यपुराणस्य शान्ति-दान-राज्याभिषेक-विविधमाहात्म्यादिसंबन्धीनि मत्स्यपुराणवचनानि प्राचुर्येण समुद्धृतानि दृश्यन्ते । एभ्यः कोशेभ्यः पाठसमीक्षोपयोगिनी सामग्री पाठभेदाश्च संकलिताः ।

(3) A Devanāgarī copy of the Svalpa-Matsya-Purāṇa discovered in Assam was secured, a portion of which has been sent to the Editor. It is being examined in relation to the full Matsya-Purāṇa, and the agreements and differences are being collected.

2. *Vāmana-Purāṇa-Edition*

The critical edition of the Vāmana-Purāṇa is being prepared by Dr. V. S. Agrawala. Uptill now seven Devanāgarī Mss. (including one from Pennsylvania University), one Telugu Ms. (from the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras) and one Bengali Ms. (from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta) have been collated, the details of which have already been given in 'Purāṇa' Vol. III, No. 1. At present the microfilm of a manuscript from the Adyar Library, Madras, is being collated at Ramnagar Purāṇa Office. Efforts are also being made to procure the microfilm copy of a Vāmana-Purāṇa Ms. from the British Museum, London, a Maithilī Ms. from the Mithilā Institute, Darbhanga and an Oriya Ms. from the Raghunandan Library, Puri (Orissa).

'PURĀṆA' BULLETIN

The 'Purāṇa' Bulletin is now entering its fifth year. The four annual volumes consisting of eight issues which have been printed uptill now, contain useful articles on the Purāṇas, written by eminent Indian and foreign scholars. To all these scholars we are much grateful for their valuable co-operation.

Dr. E. Frauwallner, editor of the Journal (WZKSO) of the Indological Institute of the Vienna University, and Dr. Juan Roger Riviere, Professor of Indology in the University of Madrid, have also very kindly supplied the names and addresses of some more eminent Western Indologists who may be willing to contribute articles on the Purāṇas for our 'Purāṇa' Bulletin. For this valuable information we are thankful to both these scholars.

(३) स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणाख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्यैको देवनागरीलिपिकोशः असमप्रदेशात् प्राप्तम्, तस्यैकोंऽशः सम्पादकमहोदयसकाशे प्रेषितः। तच्च स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणं संपूर्णमत्स्यपुराणदृष्ट्या परीक्षितम्। उभयोर्ग्रन्थयोः पाठादीनां साम्यं वैषम्यं च समुल्लिखितम्।

२. वामनपुराणसंस्करणम्

वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं डा. वासुदेवशरण-अग्रवालमहोदयैः सम्पाद्यते—इत्यपि पूर्वमेव विज्ञापितम्। एतावता कालेन वामनपुराणस्य सप्त नागरीलिपिकोशाः (अमेरिकादेशीयपेनसिलवेनिया-विश्वविद्यालयात् संप्राप्तः कोशोप्येष्वेवान्तर्भूतः), मद्रासनगरात् प्राप्तः शासकीयप्राच्यहस्तलेखग्रन्थालयस्य तेलुगुलिपिकोशः, कलकत्तानगरात् प्राप्तः एशियाटिकसोसाइटीसंस्थायाः वंगलिपिकोशश्च संवादिताः सन्ति, तेभ्यश्च पाठभेदाः संगृहीताः। एषां कोशानां विवरणं 'पुराण' पत्रिकायां (तृतीयभागस्य प्रथमेऽङ्के) पूर्वं प्रकाशितम्। इदानीम् अदयारपुस्तकालयात् प्राप्तो माइक्रोफिल्मरूपो देवनागरीकोशः संवाद्यते। अपि च, लन्दनस्थानीय-ब्रिटिशम्यूजियमसंस्थानादपि वामनपुराणस्य नागरीलिपिकोशस्य माइक्रोफिल्मं, दरभंगास्थित-मिथिलासंस्थानात् मैथिलीलिपिकोशं, उत्कलप्रदेशे पुरीनगर्यां वर्तमानात् रघुनन्दनपुस्तकालयाच्च उडियालिपिकोशं च संप्राप्तुमिदानीं यत्नः क्रियते।

पुराण-पत्रिका

पुराणपत्रिकेयमिदानीं पञ्चमे वर्षे प्रवेशं लभते। अस्या अष्टाङ्कान्विताश्चत्वारो भागा गतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षेषु प्रकाशिताः। तेषु सुविख्यातैर्भारतीयै र्विदेशीयैश्च विद्वद्भिर्लिखिताः पुराणसम्बन्धिनो निबन्धाः मुद्रिताः। वयमेषां विदुषां सहयोगाय परं कृतज्ञाः स्मः।

वियना-विश्वविद्यालयस्य भारतीयविद्यासंस्थानस्य WZKSO पत्रिकायाः सम्पादकेन श्री डा. फ्रावाल्नरमहोदयेन, तथा स्पेनदेशीयस्य मादरिदविश्वविद्यालयस्य भारतीयविद्याप्राध्यापकेन श्री डा. जुएनरोजररिवरिमहोदयेन केषांचित् पाश्चात्यदेशीयानां प्राच्यविद्याविशारदानां विदुषां स्थानादिपरिचयसहितानि नामान्यप्यत्र प्रेषितानि, ये विद्वांसोऽस्मत्पुराण पत्रिकायां पुराणनिबन्धान् प्रकाशयितुमिच्छेयुः। एतयोरुभयोरेव विदुषोर्वयमस्यै सूचनायै परं कृतज्ञाः स्मः।

VEDA-PRAVACHANA

As has been mentioned in the previous reviews, the *Veda-Pravachana* (i. e. reciting a particular Veda—the whole of its Saṁhitā-text together with the complete text of all its Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upanishads) from memory, twice a year, in the Vyāsa Temple of the Ramnagar Fort, on the occasions of the Vasanta Pañchamī (Jan.) and Vyāsa Pūrṇimā (July), is a regular feature of the activities of the Kashiraj Trust. On the last Vyāsa-Purṇimā occasion, the *Kṛishṇa-Yajurveda,* with the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Taittirīya-Upanishad,* was recited during the whole of the bright fortnight (śukla-paksha). The learned reciter, a South Indian Pandit, was awarded a gold Kaṅkaṇa and a certificate of appreciation by His Highness the Maharaja.

PURĀṆA-PĀṬHA AND PURĀṆA-PRAVACHANA

According to the scheme published in 'Purāṇa' Bulletin (III,2), the *Mudgala-Purāṇa* was recited and the *Pravachanas* or discourses on it were given by Mm. Pt. Giridhara Sharma Chaturvedi during the whole of the last week of the month of Āshāḍha (i.e. from 9th July to 17th July). Again in the last week of the month of Kārtika (i. e, from November 5 to November 11) the Nāradīya-Purāṇa has been recited and similar discourses on it have been given by Pt. Vishvanath Sastri Datar of the Sāṅga Veda Vidyālaya, Varanasi.

VISIT BY DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

During this period the members of the Central Sanskrit Board held their meetings at the Nadesar House on July 16 and 17. They also acquainted themselves with the work of the Purāṇa Department. They very much appreciated the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin. On the day of the Vyāsa-Pūrṇimā they also visited the Vyāsa Temple in the Maharaja's Palace at Ramnagar and watched with keen interest and reverence the celebration of the Vyāsa-Pūjā there. At that time they also visited the

वेदपारायणम्

कण्ठाग्रीकृतस्य स्वब्राह्मणारण्यकोपनिषत्सहितस्य संपूर्णस्य वेदस्य रामनगरराजप्रासादस्थिते व्यासमन्दिरे प्रतिवर्षं द्विवारं--वसन्तपञ्चम्यवसरे व्यासपूर्णिमाऽवसरे च--पारायणं काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यकलापेषु नियतमिति पूर्वकार्यविवरणेषु विज्ञापितम् । गतव्यासपूर्णिमाऽवसरे पञ्चदशदिनानि यावत् तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणेन तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदा च सहितस्य कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य पारायणमेकेन दाक्षिणात्यविदुषा कृतम् । वेदपारायणकर्त्रेऽस्मै वेदविदुषे श्रीमद्भिः काशिनरेशमहोदयैः सुवर्णकङ्कणं प्रशंसापत्रं चोपहारीकृतम् ।

पुराणपाठः पुराणप्रवचनं च

पुराणपत्रिकायां (तृतीयभागस्य द्वितीयेऽङ्के) प्रकाशितायाः पुराणपाठयोजनाया अनुसारेण आषाढमासस्य शुक्लपक्षे, जुलाईमासस्य ९ तिथिमारभ्य १७ तिथिं (व्यासपूर्णिमां) यावत् , मुद्गलपुराणस्य यथानियमं पाठः प्रचलितः । एतस्य प्रवचनं चैतस्मिन् काले महामहोपाध्यायैः पं० गिरिधरशर्मभिः कृतम् । पुनश्च, कार्तिकमासस्यान्तिमे सप्ताहे (५ नवम्बर—११ नवम्बर) सप्तदिनानि यावत् नारदीयपुराणस्य पाठः प्रचलितः । अस्य प्रवचनं च साङ्गवेदविद्यालयस्य वेदाध्यापकेन दातारोपाह्वेन श्री पं० विश्वनाथशास्त्रिणा कृतम् ।

विशिष्टातिथीनां समागमः

अस्मिन् काले केन्द्रीयसंस्कृतबोर्डसंस्थायाः सदस्यैः जुलाईमासस्य १६, १७ दिनाङ्कयोः काशिराज-नदेसरभवनेऽधिवेशनं कृतम् । तत्र च पुराणविभागकार्याणामपि ते सम्यक् परिचयं लब्धवन्तः । पुराणपत्रिकां च तेऽतीवोपयोगिनीममन्यन्त । व्यासपूर्णिमादिवसे च ते रामनगरदुर्गस्थितं व्यासमन्दिरं द्रष्टुं समागताः, तत्र संपाद्यमानां व्यासपूजां तेऽत्यादरेण भक्त्या च समालोकितवन्तः ।

Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra Library of His Highness the Maharaja, and were much impressed with the precious collection of thousands of Mss. and printed editions of various branches of Sanskrit literature. Sri M. Patanjali Sastri, the Chairman of the Sanskrit Board has specially noted his appreciation in these words :—"It was a rare pleasure to be taken round the magnificent collection of manuscripts and books at the Maharaja's Palace at Ramnagar. His Highness was enthusiastic in showing my colleagues of the Central Sanskrit Board and myself some of the rare old manuscripts preserved with great care. The visit was a delightful experience."

Acharya Jugal Kishore, Minister of Education, Uttar Pradesh, Dr. Shrimali, Education Minister, Government of India, Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi, Dr. Manomohan Das, Deputy Minister of Scientific Research & Cultural Affairs and Mr. Rama Prasad Mukherji, Retd. Judge of the Calcutta High Court, were the chief guests of His Highness the Maharaja of Banaras at his Nadesar House, during their visits to Varanasi. To all these distinguished guests, complimentary copies of the latest issue of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin were presented. On November 5 Dr. P. L. Vaidya, General Editor of the Mahābhārata in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, visited the Purāṇa Department. He was acquainted with the work of the Purāṇa Department and was also shown the collation work and the Śloka-index cards of the Vāmana-Purāṇa, which he much appreciated. He also saw the working of the Microfilm Reader-Machines of the Department. The Trust is thankful to all these distinguished visitors for their appreciation of its activities.

तदैव च ते महाराजकाशिनरेशस्य सरस्वतीभाण्डाराख्यं पुस्तकालयमपि संप्रेक्षितवन्तः। तत्र च संस्कृतवाङ्मयस्य विभिन्नशाखानां सहस्राधिकानां प्राचीनहस्तलिखितपुस्तकानां मुद्रितग्रन्थानां च विशालं संग्रहं दृष्ट्वा तम्य परां प्रशंसामकुर्वन्। संस्कृतबोर्डसंस्थायाः अध्यक्षमहोदयाः श्रीपतञ्जलिशास्त्रिणः स्त्रविचारानित्थं प्राकाशयन्—"रामनगरदुर्गस्थिते राजप्रासादे काशिराजसरस्वतीभण्डारस्य महत्त्वपूर्णानि प्राचीनहस्तलिखितपुस्तकानि मुद्रितसंस्करणानि च दृष्ट्वाऽस्माकं महान् प्रमोदोऽभवत्। काशिनरेशमहोदयाः केन्द्रीयसंस्कृतमण्डलसदस्यान् अस्मान् कांश्चित् सुरक्षितान् दुर्लभान् हस्तलिखितग्रन्थान् सोत्सहं प्रादर्शयन्। वयं महाराजकाशिनरेशस्य ग्रन्थागारं दृष्ट्वा परं प्रसन्नाः स्मः।"

उत्तरप्रदेशराज्यस्य माननीयः शिक्षामन्त्री श्री आचार्यजुगुलकिशोरमहोदयः, मान. केन्द्रीयशिक्षामन्त्री डा. श्रीमालीमहोदयः, वैज्ञानिकगवेषणानां सांस्कृतिककार्याणां च केन्द्रीयमन्त्री मान. श्री हुमायूँ कवोरमहोदयः, एतस्यैव च केन्द्रीयविभागस्योपमन्त्रो श्री डा. मनोमोहनदासमहोदयः, कलकत्तास्थानीयस्योच्चन्यायालयस्यावकाशप्राप्तो न्यायाधीशः श्री रामप्रसादमुकर्जीमहोदयश्च स्ववाराणसीयात्राऽवसरे श्रीमतो महाराजकाशिनरेशस्य नदेसरभवने विशिष्टा अतिथय आसन्। एतेभ्योऽभ्यागतेभ्यो पुराणपत्रिकाया गतव्यासपूर्णिमाऽङ्क उपहारीकृतः। पुनश्च, नवम्बर ५ दिनांके भाण्डारकरप्राच्यशोधसंस्थानस्य महाभारतसम्पादकेन श्री डा. पी० एल० वैद्यमहोदयेन पुराणविभागो निरीक्षितः, तत्र पुराणविभागकार्याणां च परिचयोऽपि प्राप्तः। पाठसंवादपत्राणि वामनपुराणस्य श्लोकसूचोपत्राणि चापि डा. वैद्यमहोदयेन समवलोकितानि, अभिनन्दितानि च। पुराणविभागस्य माइक्रोफिल्मपठनयन्त्रमपि समवलोकितम्। काशिराजन्यासः स्वकार्यजातस्याभिनन्दनाय सर्वेषामेतेषां संमान्यातिथीनां परां कृतज्ञतां प्रकाशयति। इति।

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

OF

THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

1. His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narayan Singh, M.A., D.Litt.; Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi—(*Chairman*)

Trustee nominated by the Govt. of India :—

2. Dr. Panna Lal, M.A., B.SC., LL.B., D.Litt., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, C.S.I.. C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retd.); 19, Thornhill Road, Allahabad.

Trustees nominated by the Govt. of Uttar Pradesh :—

3. Dr. Sampurnanand, D.LITT.; Governor of Rajasthan

4. Pt. Kamalapati Tripathi; Minister of Finance, Uttar Pradesh.

Trustees nominated by His Highness the Maharaja of Banaras :—

5. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D. Litt. (London), F. A S. B., Professor Emeritus of Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta; Chairman, West Bengal Legislative Council, Calcutta.

6. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, M A., D. Litt., M. P.; Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau (Malwa).

7. Pt. Murari Lal Mehta, Ramghat, Varanasi; Trustee Shri Baldevaram Shaligram Trust, Calcutta, Trustee Shri Vallabhram Shaligram Sangaveda Vidyalaya and Aushadhalaya, Varanasi, Trustee Shri Vallabhram Shaligram Mehta Hospital, Bharvari.

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल काँगड़ी

The '*Purāṇa*' Bulletin has been started by the Purāṇa Department of the All-India Kashiraj Trust with the aim of organising the manifold studies relating to the Purāṇas. It will specially discuss the several aspects of text-reconstruction, of the interpretation of the vast cultural and historical material, and of the obscure esoteric symbolism of legends and myths of the Purāṇas. The editors invite contributions from all those scholars who are interested in the culture of the Purāṇa literature, and in the religion and philosophy of the Vedas, which has found the fullest expression in the Purāṇas.

Vol. V, No. 2] [July, 1963

पुराणम्

PURĀṆA

[Half-yearly Bulletin of the Purāṇa-Department]

With the financial assistance from the Ministry of Education,
Government of India

VYASA PŪRṆIMA NUMBER

आत्मा पुराणं वेदानाम्

ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST
FORT RAMNAGAR, VARANASI

Annual Subs.—Inland Rs. 12/- Foreign £1

सम्पादक-मण्डल

पद्मभूषण पण्डितराज श्री राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविड ;
अध्यक्ष, साङ्गवेद विद्यालय, रामघाट, वाराणसी ।

पद्मभूषण डा. वे० राघवन्, एम० ए०, पी० एच० डी० ;
अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, मद्रास विश्वविद्यालय, मद्रास ।

डा. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, एम० ए०, पी० एच० डी०, डी० लिट् ;
प्रोफेसर, भारती महाविद्यालय, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी ।

श्री आनन्दस्वरूप गुप्त, एम० ए०, शास्त्री ; पुराण-विभाग, सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यास, फोर्ट रामनगर, वाराणसी ।

EDITORIAL BOARD

Padma-Bhushan Paṇḍita-rāja Śri Rājeśvara Śāstri Draviḍa ; Principal, Sāṅga-Veda-Vidyālaya, Varanasi.

Padma-Bhushan Dr. V. Raghavan, M. A., Ph. D. ; Professor and Head of Sanskrit Dept., Madras University, Madras.

Dr. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, M. A., Ph.D., D. Litt ; Professor, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University.

Shri Anand Swarup Gupta, M. A., Shastri ; Purāṇa Dept., All-India Kashiraj Trust. (*Editor-in-Charge*)

लेखकमहोदयैः प्रकटीकृता विचारास्तेषामेव स्वायत्ताः,
न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् निबध्नन्ति ।

Authors are responsible for their views,
which do not bind the Editors.

पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

Vol. V., No. 2] व्यासपूर्णिमाऽङ्कः [July 6, 1963

लेखसूची—Contents

Pages

1. व्यासप्रशस्तिः [Praise of Vyāsa] 195
2. पृथिवीकृता वराह-स्तुतिः [Eulogy of Varāha by the Earth] 196-198
   (Compiled from the Viṣṇu P.; with notes, By *Anand Swarup Gupta*)
3. Yajña-Varāha—An Interpretation [यज्ञवराह-व्याख्या] 199-236
   By *Dr. V. S. Agrawala*,
   Prof., Indology College, B.H.U., Varanasi
4. Matsya-text relating to Yajña-varāha 237-242
   [यज्ञवराहसम्बन्धी मत्स्यपुराणपाठः]
   (Critically edited By *Dr. V. Raghavan*, Professor, Madras University)
5. European Translations of Purāṇic Texts 243-250
   [पुराणानां यूरोपीया अनुवादाः]
   By *Dr. Juan Roger Riviere*,
   Professor of Indology, University of Madrid, Spain
6. The Land of the Kambojas [कम्बोजानां जनपदः] 251-257
   By *Dr. D. C. Sircar*, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University
7. Sāvitrī and the Banyan [सावित्री वटश्च] 258-266
   By *Prof. S.A. Dange, M.A., Ph.D.*; Nagpur
8. देवीमाहात्म्यम्-उपोद्घातः [Devī-Māhātmya—Preface] 267-279
   By *Dr. V.S. Agrawala*
   (Trans. from English into Sanskrit by *Anand Swarup Gupta*)

9. The Identical Philosophical Texts in the Nārada-Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata: Their Contents and Significance [महाभारतनारदपुराणयोः दर्शनशास्त्रसम्बन्धिनः समानपाठाः, तेषां विषया महत्त्वं च] 280-304

By *Prof. V.M. Bedekar*; BORI, Poona 4.

10. On the Date of the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa [ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य रचनाकालः] 305-319

By *Dr. S. N. Roy, M.A., D. Phil.*;
Asstt. Prof., Allahabad University.

11. A Treatise of the Kārtika-Māhātmya—Its character and Importance [कार्तिक-माहात्म्यग्रन्थः—तस्य स्वरूपं महत्त्वं च] 320-325

By *Dr. Asoke Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil, Shastri*; Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta

12. लिङ्गपुराणान्तर्गतानि निर्वचनानि [Etymology of certain words in the Liṅga-Purāṇa] 326-332

By *Sri V.V. Paranjape, M.A.*;
Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Poona—2

13. Kashmirian Version of the Matsya-Purāṇa [मत्स्यपुराणस्य काश्मीरपाठः] 333-345

By *Anand Swarup Gupta*

14. Some Linguistic Aberrations in the Matsya-Purāṇa [मत्स्यपुराणे भाषाविषयिकाः काश्चिच्च्युतयः] 346-349

By *Dr. Nilmadhav Sen*, Deccan College, Poona

15. पुराणसूक्तयः [Wise Sayings from the Purāṇas] 350-351

(Compiled from the Vāmana P. By *Pt. Thakur Prasad Sharma Dvivedi*; Purāṇa-Deptt., Fort Ramnagar)

Notes and Comments: 352-366

16. Mahī-Sāgara-Saṁgama [महीसागरसंगमः] 352-354

By *Dr. D. C. Sircar*

S.N.15

17. Identification of Kamboja [कम्बोज-जनपदस्य स्थितेर्निश्चयीकरणम्] 355-359
By *Dr. V. S. Agrawala*

18. On the Adhyāyas of the Vāmana-Purāṇa [वामनपुराणस्याध्यायानां विषये] 360-366
By *Anand Swarup Gupta*

19. *In Memorium* 367-374
Dr. Rajendra Prasad 367-369
By *Dr. V. S. Agarwala*
पं० मुरारिलाल मेहता महोदयाः 370-371
By *Pt. Rajesvara Sastri Dravid*
Sri M. Patanjali Sastri 372-374
By *Dr. V. Raghavan*

20. त्रयो देवाः [Three Gods] 375

21. Activities of the All India Kashiraj Trust [काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्याणां विवरणम्] 376-389
By *Anand Swarup Gupta*

22. *Communication* : 390-393
A Bibliography on Hinduism [हिन्दुधर्मस्य ग्रन्थानुक्रमणी]
By *Dr. J. Gonda*; Utrecht (Netherlands)

Plates :
Maharṣi Vyāsa conferring *divyadṛṣṭi* on Sañjaya (Reprinted from Mbh., cri. edn.) Frontispiece
Mahā-Varāha Image in the Daśāvatāra cave at Ellora; eighth cent. A. D. After p. 236
Mahā-Viṣṇu with Nṛsiṁha and Varāha Heads from Mathura; c. 5th cent. A. D. ,, ,,
Mahā-Varāha Image, Udaigiri Cave; c. 400 A. D. ,, ,,
Ekārṇava-Samudra-Mūrti; Udaigiri Cave; c. 400 A. D. ,, ,,

The two Rivers by Gaṅgā-Yamunā and their confluence ; Udaigiri ; c. 400 A. D. After p. 236

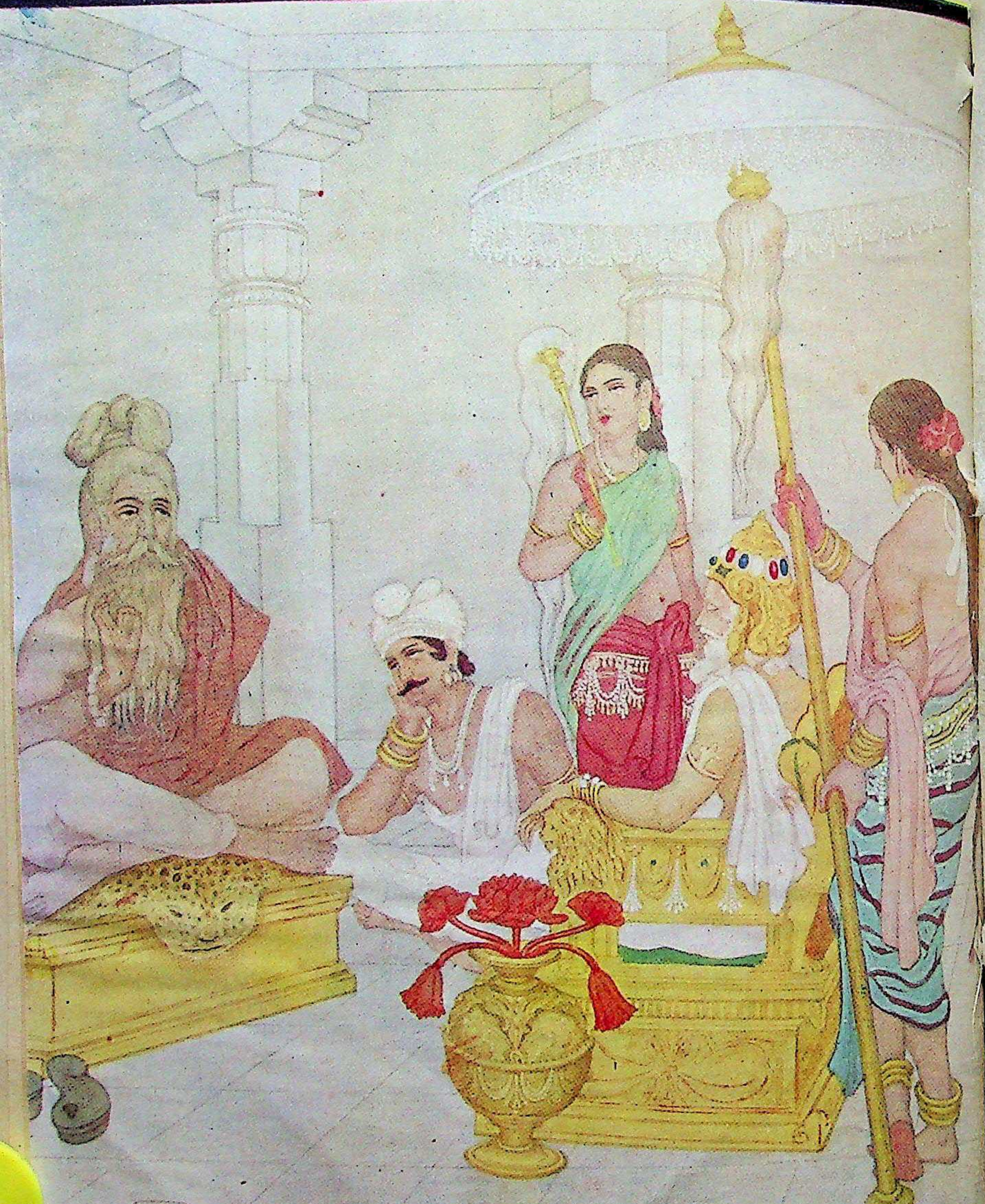
Mahā-Varāha Image at Badami ; Chalukyan Art ; Seventh cen. A. D. " "

Varāha & Pṛithivī from Varāha-Maṇḍapa at Mahābalipuram ; seventh century A.D. " "

Yajña-Varāha Image ; c. 10th century A. D. " "

Ādi-Varāha Silver Coin of Mihira Bhoja " "

भारत—Map Showing Location of Kamboja. Facing p. 355



BY COURTESY OF BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE POONA 4.

व्यास-प्रशस्तिः

जज्ञे बहुज्ञं परमत्युदारं
यं द्वीपमध्ये सुतमात्मवन्तम्[1] ।
पराशराद् गन्धवती[2] महर्षिं
तस्मै नमोऽज्ञानतमोनुदाय ॥
*पितामहाद्यं प्रवदन्ति षष्ठं
महर्षिमार्षेयविभूतियुक्तम् ।
नारायणस्यांशजमेकपुत्रम्
द्वैपायनं वेदमहानिधानम् ॥
तमादिकालेषु महाविभूति-
र्नारायणो ब्रह्ममहानिधानम् ।
ससर्ज पुत्रार्थमुदारतेजा
व्यासं महात्मानमजः पुराणः[3] ॥

(Mbh., Cr. Ed., Poona, XII. 337. 3-5)

(Mbh., Chitraśālā Press Ed., XII. 349. 3-5)

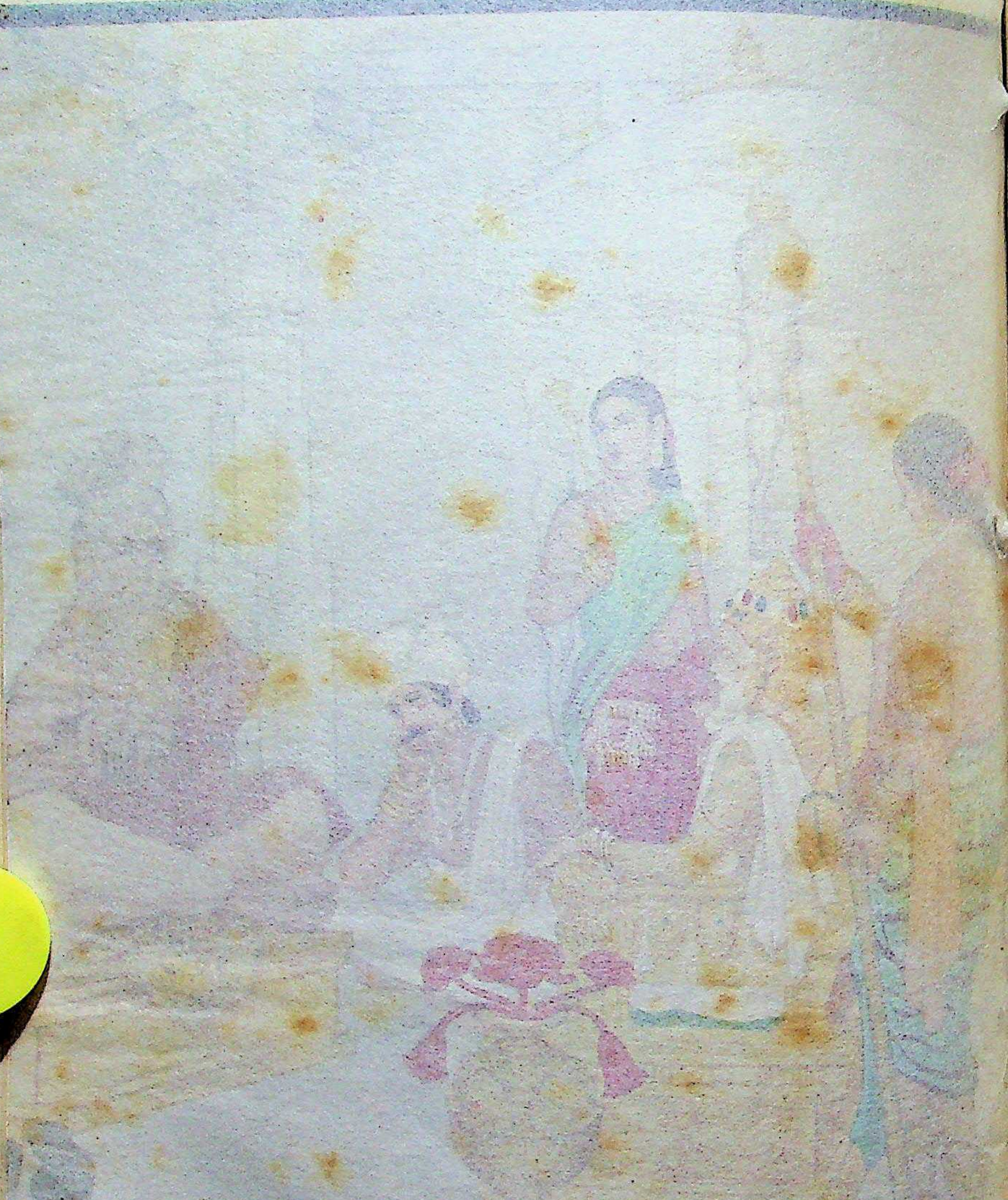
---

१. सुतमात्मयोगात् (Chitraśālā Press Ed.)

२. पराशरात् सत्यवती (" ")

३. °मजं पुराणम् (" ")

*"पितामहस्य आद्यो नारायणः, तं यं षष्ठं नारायणमाहुः [illegible] । [illegible] —कार्यस्य कारणात्मत्वाद्वा 'आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि' इति [illegible] [illegible]शत्वाद्वा षष्ठे नारायणत्वम् । ऋषिर्हिरण्यगर्भः [illegible] [illegible] व्यासं विद्धि नारायणांशजम्' इति स्मृतेः ।" ([illegible])



MAHARṢI VYĀSA

Conferring Clairvoyant vision on Sañjaya (Mbh. VI. 2. 9-10)

Reprinted from Mahābhārata, cri. edn. Bhisma-Parvan

BY COURTESY OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE POONA 4

व्यास-प्रशस्तिः

जज्ञे बहुज्ञं परमत्युदारं
यं द्वीपमध्ये सुतमात्मवन्तम्[1] ।
पराशराद् गन्धवती[2] महर्षिं
तस्मै नमोऽज्ञानतमोनुदाय ॥
*पितामहाद्यं प्रवदन्ति षष्ठं
महर्षिमार्षेयविभूतियुक्तम् ।
नारायणस्यांशजमेकपुत्रम्
द्वैपायनं वेदमहानिधानम् ॥
तमादिकालेषु महाविभूति-
र्नारायणो ब्रह्ममहानिधानम् ।
ससर्ज पुत्रार्थमुदारतेजा
व्यासं महात्मानमजः पुराणः[3] ॥

(Mbh., Cr. Ed., Poona, XII. 337. 3-5)

(Mbh., Chitraśālā Press Ed., XII. 349. 3-5)

---

[1] सुतमात्मयोगात् (Chitraśālā Press Ed.)

[2] पराशरात् सत्यवती (" ")

[3] ०मजं पुराणम् (" ")

*"पितामहस्य आद्यो नारायणः, तं यं षष्ठं नारायणावतारं वदन्तीत्यर्थः। तथाहि—कार्यस्य कारणानन्यत्वाद्वा 'आत्मा वै पुत्रनामाऽसि' इति गौणाभेदाद्वा व्यासस्य नारायणांशत्वाद्वा षष्ठे नारायणत्वम्। ऋषिर्हिरण्यगर्भः, तदीयैश्वर्ययुक्तं नारायणस्यांशजम्, 'कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणांशजम्' इति स्मृतेः।" (नीलकण्ठटीका)

पृथिवीकृता वराहस्तुतिः

(विष्णुपु॰, १।४।१२-२४)

तोयान्तःस्थां महीं ज्ञात्वा जगत्येकार्णवीकृते ।
अनुमानात् तदुद्धारं कर्तुंकामः प्रजापतिः ॥ ७ ॥

अकरोत्स्वतनूमन्यां कल्पादिषु यथा पुरा ।
मत्स्यकूर्मादिकां तद्वद्वाराहं वपुरास्थितः ॥ ८ ॥

वेदयज्ञमयं रूपमशेषजगतः स्थितौ ।
स्थितः स्थिरात्मा सर्वात्मा परमात्मा प्रजापतिः ॥ ९ ॥

जनलोकगतैः सिद्धैः सनकाद्यैरभिष्टुतः ।
प्रविवेश तदा तोयमात्माधारो धराधरः ॥ १० ॥

निरीक्ष्य तं तदा देवी पातालतलमागतम् ।
तुष्टाव प्रणता भूत्वा भक्तिनम्रा वसुंधरा ॥ ११ ॥

पृथिव्युवाच

नमस्ते पुण्डरीकाक्ष शङ्खचक्रगदाधर ।
मामुद्धरास्मादद्य त्वं त्वत्तोऽहं पूर्वमुत्थिता ॥१२॥

त्वयाऽहमुद्धृता पूर्वं त्वन्मयाऽहं जनार्दन ।
तथाऽन्यानि च भूतानि गगनादीन्यशेषतः ॥१३॥

नमस्ते परमात्मात्मन् पुरुषात्मन् नमोऽस्तु ते ।
प्रधानव्यक्तभूताय कालभूताय ते नमः ॥१४॥

त्वं कर्ता सर्वभूतानां त्वं पाता त्वं विनाशकृत् ।
सर्गादिषु प्रभो ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्रात्मरूपधृक् ॥१५॥

सम्भक्षयित्वा सकलं जगत्येकार्णवीकृते ।
शेषे त्वमेव गोविन्द चिन्त्यमानो मनीषिभिः ॥१६॥

भवतो यत्परं तत्त्वं तन्न जानाति कश्चन ।
अवतारेषु यद्रूपं तदर्चन्ति दिवौकसः ॥१७॥

त्वामाराध्य परं ब्रह्म याता मुक्तिं मुमुक्षवः ।
वासुदेवमनाराध्य को मोक्षं समवाप्स्यति ॥१८॥
यत्किञ्चिन्मनसा ग्राह्यं यद् ग्राह्यं चक्षुरादिभिः ।
बुद्ध्या च यत् परिच्छेद्यं तद्रूपमखिलं तव ॥१९॥
त्वन्मयाऽहं त्वदाधारा त्वत्सृष्टा त्वत्समाश्रया ।
माधवीमिति लोकोऽयमभिधत्ते ततो हि माम् ॥२०॥
जयाखिलज्ञानमय जय स्थूलमयाव्यय ।
जयानन्त जयाव्यक्त जय व्यक्तमय प्रभो ॥२१॥
परापरात्मन् विश्वात्मन् जय यज्ञपतेऽनघ ।
त्वं यज्ञस् त्वं वषट्कारस् त्वमोङ्कारस् त्वमग्नयः ॥२२॥
त्वं वेदास् त्वं तदङ्गानि त्वं यज्ञपुरुषो हरे ।
सूर्यादयो ग्रहास् तारा नक्षत्राण्यखिलं जगत् ॥२३॥
मूर्तामूर्तमदृश्यं च दृश्यं च पुरुषोत्तम ।
यच्चोक्तं यच्च नैवोक्तं मयाऽत्र परमेश्वर ।
तत्सर्वं त्वं नमस्तुभ्यं भूयो भूयो नमो नमः ॥२४॥

[The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa also gives separately a *stuti* of the Yajña-Varāha form of Viṣṇu uttered by Sages, Sanandana and others, (I. 4. 31-44) ; the Bhāgavata (III. 13. 34-45) also follows suit, but differing to some extent in matter and style.

The *Varāha-Avatāra* of Viṣṇu has been variously styled as—

आदिवराह or **आदिसूकर** (Bhāg., III. 19. 31a)

कारणसूकर (Bhāg., III. 13. 34d ; 14.1b ; 19. 37b ; Cf. also Kālidāsa, Rv. 13.8—'**आदिभवेन पुंसा**')

महावराह (Viṣṇu, I. 4. 26 b, 29 b ; etc.)

यज्ञवराह (Matsya, 248.77 ; Vāyu, Venk. ed., I, 6.22; Brahma, Ān. ed., 213. 42 ; etc.)

यज्ञसूकर (Bhāg. III. 19. 9b).

एमूषवराह (Śatapatha Br. XIV. 1. 2. 11—'**तां [पृथिवीं] एमूष इति वराह उज्जघान**')

In the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa the Varāha-form of Viṣṇu has been conceived as **वेदयज्ञमय** (I. 4. 9 a), which conception has further been analysed in the *stuti* given above, as **वेदमय** and **यज्ञमय**, e. g.,

त्वं यज्ञस्त्वं वषट्कारस्त्वमोङ्कारस्त्वमग्नयः ।   (22 c d)

and

त्वं वेदास्त्वं तदङ्गानि············· ।   (23a)

This *stuti* of God Varāha describes him both as the transcendent Reality, and also as Viṣṇu's immanent or manifest form. While the transcendent form is unknowable and therefore beyond the scope of worship or praise, the immanent form of Viṣṇu-Varāha is such as can be worshipped and praised :—

भवतो यत्परं तत्त्वं तन्न जानाति कश्चन ।
अवतारेषु यद्रूपं तदर्चन्ति दिवौकसः ॥ (१७)॥]

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

YAJÑA-VARĀHA—AN INTERPRETATION

[यज्ञ-वराह]

By

V. S. Agrawala

[अस्मिंल्लेखे भगवतो यज्ञवराहस्य आध्यात्मिकोऽर्थः श्रुतिपुराणोक्त-वर्णनमधिकृत्य प्रतिपाद्यते। यज्ञवराहस्वरूपप्रतिपादकाः प्रायेण सप्त श्लोकाः मात्स्ये (२४८, ६७ उ०–७४ पू.), वायुपुराणे (६, २६-२३), ब्रह्माण्डे (प्रक्रियापादे, ५, ६-२३), पाद्मे (सृष्टिखण्डे, १६. ५५-६१), विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणे (१, २. ३-८), हरिवंशे (१ ४१. २६-३५ ; ३. ३४. ३४-४१), विष्णुस्मृतौ (१. ३-६) च वर्त्तन्ते। इममेव विषयमधिकृत्य विष्णुपुराणे (१. ४. ३२-३५), भागवतपुराणे (३. १३. ३३-३८) च अतीवोदात्तं वर्णनं लभ्यते। एवम् अहिर्बुध्न्य-संहितायाम् अध्वरात्मकस्य विष्णोरस्मिन्नेव शरीरे प्राणाग्निहोत्रोपनिषदः शैलीमवलम्ब्य किमपि नूतनं वर्णनमुपलभ्यते। अस्य लेखस्य विभागद्वयमस्ति–प्रथमे भागे एषां सप्तानां श्लोकानां पाठनिर्णयः कृतः। अपरस्मिन् भागे तु यज्ञवराहदेवस्य आध्यात्मिकी प्रतिपत्तिर्व्याख्याता। आदिसृष्टौ एकार्णवीभूतस्य कारणसमुद्रस्य गभीराम्भसि वराहरूपेण प्रविश्य नारायणो देवो जले संप्लुतां पृथिवी दंष्ट्राग्रेण उज्जहार।

अयं वराहो ‘नारायणात्मको ब्रह्मा’, ‘प्राणाख्यो हिरण्यगर्भः’, ‘वायुः’, ‘सूर्यः’ इत्यादिना नानारूपेण पुराणेषु श्रूयते। स एव क्षेत्रज्ञः, परमपुरुषः यज्ञरूपेण स्मर्यते। असौ यज्ञ एव भगवान् वराहः, यस्मात् निखिलात्मिकेयं सृष्टिः प्रवर्त्तते। इयं सृष्टिरथवा प्रकृतिरेव पृथिवीरूपेण उच्यते। सैषा पृथिवी सर्वेषां माता चेत्युच्यते। सैवादितिः सर्वेषां देवानां जननी देवमाता। अत एव वराहरूपेण नारायणं पुरुषं सर्वदेवमयमाचक्षते। वराहरूपेण भगवन्तं नारायणं वर्णयन्त्यः श्रुतयः पुराणानि च प्राणात्मकं पुरुषमेव लक्ष्यीकुर्वन्ति।]

1. Introduction

The incarnation of Vishṇu in the form of Yajña-Varāha is a favourite theme of the Purāṇa as महावराहचरित. There are seven ślokas in which Vishṇu as Boar is compared to *Yajña.* These verses form part of the story of Varāha-incarnation in which Vishṇu assumes the form of a Boar to lift the Earth from the depth of the Primeval Flood (*Ekārṇava*).

There are two questions pertaining to these seven verses, firstly the textual problem about the correct original reading as it emerged from the pen of a very competent Purāṇic author; and secondly about the significance or meaning of the conception of the sacrificial Boar.

Let us deal with the first problem. The text is found in the following Purāṇas :—

1. Matsya, 248. 67bc-74ab.
2. Vāyu, 6. 16-23.
3. Brahmāṇḍa, Prakriyā Pāda, 5. 9-23.
4. Brahma Purāṇa, 213. 33-37.
5. Harivaṁśa, I. 41. 29-35 ; III, 34. 34-41.
6. Padma, Sṛishṭi-kh, 16. 55-61.
7. Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa, 1-2. 3-8.
8. Vishṇu Smṛiti, which quotes these seven verses in the very beginning, 1.3-9.
9. Vishṇu-Sahasranāma, Śāṅkara-Bhāshya on the word यज्ञाङ्ग in śloka 117, where Śaṅkara cites the text of these seven verses from the Harivaṁśa.

Besides the above, the Vishṇu-Purāṇa (I. 4.32-35), the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (III. 13. 35-38) and the Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā (37. 40-48) also include the Yajña-Varāha description, but with a text different from the first group and attempting a new metaphorical description of their own.

2. Matsya Purāṇa Text, Ch. 248

वेदपादो[१] यूपदंष्ट्रः[२] क्रतुदन्तश्[3] चितीमुखः[४] ।
अग्निजिह्वो[५] दर्भलोमा[६] ब्रह्मशीर्षो[७] महातपाः
अहोरात्रेक्षणधरो[८] वेदाङ्गश्रुतिभूषणः[९] ॥६८॥

आज्यनासः[१०] स्रुवतुण्डः[११] सामघोषस्वनो[१२] महान् ।
सत्यधर्ममयो[13] श्रीमान् कर्मविकर्मसत्कृतः[१४] ॥६९॥

प्रायश्चित्तनखो[15] घोरः पशुजानु[16]र्मखाकृतिः[17] ।
उद्गीथहोमलिङ्गोऽथ[18] बीजौषधिमहाफलः[19] ॥७०॥

वाय्वन्तरात्मा[20] यज्ञास्थिविकृतिः[21] सोमशोणितः[22] ।
वेदस्कन्धो[23] हविर्गन्धो[24] हव्यकव्यविभागवान्[25] ॥७१॥

प्राग्वंशकायो[26] द्युतिमान् नानादीक्षाभिरन्वितः[27] ।
दक्षिणाहृदयो[28] योगी महासत्रमयो[29] महान् ॥७२॥

उपाकर्मौष्ठरुचकः[30] प्रवर्ग्यावर्त्तभूषणः[31] ।
नानाछन्दोगतिपथो[32] गुह्योपनिषदासनः[33] ।
छायापत्नीसहायो[34] वै मणिशृङ्ग इवोच्छ्रितः ॥७३॥

(Ānandāśrama Ed.)

The following variant readings are given in the footnotes.

Śl. 69. °सत्क्रमः for °सत्कृतः

Śl. 70. अङ्गतानो होमलिङ्गो and उद्गाथाहोमलिङ्गोऽथ for उद्गीथहोमलिङ्गोऽथ

Śl. 71. वाद्यन्तरात्मा यन्त्रास्थिविक्रीतः and भावानामन्तरात्मा यो विकृतः for वाम्नन्तरात्मा यज्ञा°

Sl. 73. ततः कर्माष्ट्वर्कः for उपाकर्मोष्टरुचकः गुह्योपनिषदावर्तः and गुह्योपनिषदावर्तः for गुह्योपनिषदासनः

3. Variants of the Matsya-readings of the seven verses in other Purāṇas

Abbreviations used :

मत्स्यपुराण=म. पु. ; वायु पुराण=वा. पु. ; ब्रह्म पुराण=ब्र. पु. ; हरिवंश पुराण=हरि.पु. ; ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण=ब्रह्मा.पु. ; पद्म पु.=प.पु.; विष्णु स्मृति=वि.स्मृ. ; विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण = वि० ध०; विष्णु सहस्रनाम-शांकर भाष्य = वि० स० शा० भा०

Variants—

१. वेदपादः [म० पु०, ब्र० पु०, हरि०पु०, प०पु०, वि०स्मृ०] । वेदपाद् [वा० पु०, वि० ध०]। दीक्षा समाप्ति [ब्रह्मा० पु०] ।

२. यूपदंष्ट्रः [म०पु०, ब्र.पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., वि.स्मृ., वा० पु० वि० ध०, वि० स० शा. भा]। इष्टिदंष्ट्रः [ब्रह्मा. पु.]।

३. क्रतुदन्तः [म० पु०, ब्र० पु०, हरि. पु., वि. स्मृ.]। क्रतुवक्षाः [वा० पु०]। चतुर्वक्त्रः [वि. ध.] क्रतुहस्तः [प पु., वि० स० शा० भा०]

४ चितीमुखः [म. पु., ब्र०पु०, हरि०पु०, प०पु०, वि०स्मृ०, वा० पु०, वि० स० शा० भा०]। जुहूमुखः [ब्रह्मा. पु.]। चतुर्मुखः [वि०ध०]।

५. अग्निजिह्वः [म०पु०, ब्र०पु०, हरि०पु०, प०पु०, ब्रह्मा०पु०, वि०स्मृ० वि० स० शा० भा०, वि० ध०]। अग्निजिह्वी [वा० पु०]।

६. दर्भलोमा [म०पु०]। दर्भरोमा [ब्र०पु०, हरि०पु०, प०पु०, ब्रह्मा० पु०, वि० स्मृ०, वा० पु०, वि० स० शा० भा०, वि० ध०]।

७ ब्रह्मशीर्षः [म.पु., ब्र.पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., ब्रह्मा.पु., वि.स्मृ., वि० स० शा० भा०, वि० ध०]। ब्रह्मशीर्षो (र्षा) [वा. पु.]।

८ महातपाः [म.पु., ब्र.पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., ब्रह्मा. पु., वि. स्मृ., वा. पु., वि० स० शा० भा०, वि० ध०]।

९. अहेरात्रेक्षणधरः [म. पु., वा. पु., हरि. पु., ब्रह्मा. पु.]। अहोरात्रेक्षणो दिव्यो [ब्र.पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., वि.स्मृ वि०स०शा०भा०, वि०ध.]।

१०. वेदाङ्गश्रुतिभूषणः [म.पु., वा.पु., हरि.पु., ब्रह्मा.पु., वि.स्मृ., वि०स०शा० भा०]। [प.पु.]। वेदाङ्गः श्रुतिभूषणः [ब्र.पु., वि० ध०]।

११. आज्यनासः [म. पु., ब्र. पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., वि.स्मृ., वि. स. शा. भा., वि. ध.]। आज्यनाशः (सः) [वा. पु.]। आज्यगंधः [ब्रह्मा. पु.]।

१२. स्रुवतुण्डः [म. पु., वा. पु., प. पु., ब्र. पु., वि. स्मृ. वि स शा. भा, वि ध.]। स्रुवातुण्डः [हरि. पु.]। स्रुवस्तुंडः [ब्रह्मा. पु.]।

१३. सामघोषस्वनो महान् [म.पु., वा. पु., हरि. पु., १, ४१, ३०, प. पु., ब्रह्मा.पु., वि. स. शा. भा, वि. ध.]। सामघोषस्वरो महान् [ब्र.पु., हरि. पु., वि. स्मृ.]।

१४. सत्यधर्ममयः [म. पु., वा. पु., ब्र. पु., हरि. पु., प.पु., ब्रह्मा. पु.]। धर्मसत्यमयः [हरि. पु., १, ४१, ३१, वि. स्मृ., वि. स. शा. भा.]। धर्मःसत्यमहाः [वि. ध]।

१५. श्रीमान् [म. पु., वा. पु., ब्र. पु., हरि. पु., प. पु., ब्रह्मा. पु., वि. स्मृ., वि. स शा. भा., वि. ध]।

१६. कर्मविक्रमसत्कृतः [म.पु., ब्रह्मा.पु., प.पु., वि. ध.]। धर्मविक्रमसंस्थितः [वा. पु.]। क्रमविक्रमसत्कृतः [ब्र. पु., हरि. पु., वि. स्मृ.]। क्रमविक्रमसत्क्रियः [वि. स. शा. भा.]।

१७. प्रायश्चित्तनखो घोरः [म. पु., ब्र. पु., ब्रह्मा. पु; वि० स० श० भा०]। प्रायश्चित्तरथो घोरः [वा.पु.]। प्रायश्चित्तनखो धीरः हरि.पु., १, ४१, ३१ क्रियासत्रमहाघोणः [हरि. पु.]। प्रायश्चित्तमहाघोणः [वि. स्मृ.]। प्रायश्चित्तमयो धीरः [वि० ध०]।

१८. पशुजानुर्मखाकृतिः [म. पु., हरि. पु. प.पु.]। पशुजानुर्महाकृतिः [वा. पु., वि. स्मृ.]। पशुजानुर्मुखाकृतिः [ब्र. पु.]। पशुजानुर्महामखः [ब्रह्मा. पु.]। प्रांशुजानुर्महायशाः [वि० ध०]। पशुजानुर्महाभुजः [हरि.पु. १,४१,३१, वि० स० शा० भा०]।

१९. उद्गीथहोमलिङ्गोऽथ [म. पु.]। उद्गात्रन्त्रो होमलिङ्गः [हरि.पु. १,४१,३२, प.पु. वा. पु. वि० स० शा० भा०, वि० ध०]। उद्गतान्त्रो होमलिङ्गो [ब्र. पु., ब्रह्मा. पु.]। उद्गात्रान्तो महालिङ्गो [हरि. पु.]। उद्गात्रान्त्रो होमलिङ्गो [वि. स्मृ.]।

२०. बीजौषधिमहाफलः [म. पु., ब्र. पु , हरि. पु. फलबीज महौषधिः हरि. पु. १,४१,३२ प.पु., वि. स्मृ., वि० स० शा० भा०]। स्थानबीजी महौषधिः [वा. पु., वि० ध०]। फलबीज महौषधीः [ब्रह्मा. पु.]।

२१. वाय्वन्तरात्मा [म. पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., वि० स० शा० भा०, वि० ध०]। वेद्यान्तरात्मा [वा. पु.]। वाद्यन्तरात्मा [ब्र. पु., ब्रह्मा. पु.]। वेद्यन्तरात्मा [वि. स्मृ.]।

२२. यज्ञास्थिविक्रुतिः [म. पु.]। मन्त्रस्फिगाज्यस्पृक् [वा. पु.]। मन्त्रस्फिग्विक्रुतः [ब्र. पु., हरि.पु. १,४१,३२ वि.स्मृ.]। मन्त्रस्पृग्विक्रमः [हरि. पु.] मंत्रास्थिरापःस्फिक् [प. पु.]। नास्मिका [ब्रह्मा. पु.]। मन्त्रास्थिर्विक्रुतः [वि०ध०]। मन्त्रस्फिग्विक्रमः [वि. स. शा. भा.]।

२३. सोमशोणितः [म. पु. वा.पु., ब्र.पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., ब्रह्मा.पु., वि.स्मृ., वि० ध०, वि० स० शा० भा०]।

२४. वेदस्कन्धः [म.पु., वा.पु., प.पु., ब्रह्मा. पु., वि० ध०]। वेदिस्कन्धः [ब्र. पु., हरि. पु. १,४१,३२ वि. स्मृ.]। वेदीस्कन्धः [हरि. पु., वि० स० शा० भा०]।

२५. हविर्गन्धः [म. पु., वा. पु., ब्र. पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., वि.स्मृ., वि० स० शा० भा०, ध० वि०]। हविर्गन्धिः [ब्रह्मा. पु.]।

२६. हव्यकव्यविभागवान् [म. पु.]। हव्यकव्यातिवेगवान् [वा. पु., ब्र.पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., वि० स० शा० भा०, वि० ध०]। हव्यकव्यादिवेगवान् [ब्रह्मा. पु. वि. स्मृ.]।

२७. प्राग्वंशकायः [म.पु., वा.पु., ब्र.पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., ब्रह्मा.पु., वि. स्मृ., वि० स० शा० भा०, वि० ध०]।

२८. द्युतिमान् [म.पु., वा.पु., ब्र.पु., हरि. पु., प.पु., ब्रह्मा. पु., वि. स्मृ., वि० स० शा० भा०, वि० ध०]।

२९. नानादीक्षाभिरन्वितः [म. पु., वा. पु., ब्र. पु., ब्रह्मा. पु., वि. स्मृ., वि० ध०]। [नानादीक्षाभिराचितः हरि. पु. १, ४१, २३]। नानादीक्षाभिरर्चितः [हरि. पु., प. पु., वि० स० शा० भा०]।

३०. दक्षिणाहृदयो योगी [म. पु., वा. पु., ब्र.पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., ब्रह्मा. पु., वि० स० शा० भा०, वि० ध०]। दक्षिणाहृदयो योगः [वि. स्मृ.]।

३१. महासत्रमयो महान् [म.पु., ब्र. पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., वि० स० शा० भा०]। महासत्रमयो विभुः [वा. पु.]। महाक्रतुमयो महान् [वि० ध०] श्रद्धासत्त्वमयो विभुः [ब्रह्मा. पु.]। महामन्त्रमयो महान् [वि. स्मृ.]।

३२. उपाकर्मौष्ठरुचकः [म. पु., हरि. पु., वि० स० शा० भा०]। उपाकर्मेष्ठिरुचिरः [वा.पु., प.पु., वि० ध०] । उपाकर्माष्ठरुचकः [ब्र. पु.] । उपाकर्मरुचिश्चैव [ब्रह्मा. पु.] । उपाकर्मौष्ठरुचिरः [वि. स्मृ.] ।

३३. प्रवर्ग्यावर्तभूषणः [म.पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., वि.स्मृ., ब्रह्मा. पु., वि० स० शा० भा०, वि० ध०] । प्रवर्ग्यवित्तभूषणः [वा. पु.] । प्रवर्गावर्तभूषणः [ब्र. पु.] ।

३४. नानाछन्दोगतिपथः [म. पु., वा. पु., ब्र. पु., हरि. पु. ब्रह्मा. पु., वि. स्मृ., वि० स० शा० भा०] ।

३५. गुह्योपनिषदासनः [म. पु., वा. पु., ब्र. पु., हरि. पु., ब्रह्मा. पु., वि. स्मृ., वि० स० शा० भा०] ।

३६. छायापत्नीसहायः [म.पु., वा.पु., हरि.पु., प.पु., वि० स० शा० भा०, वि.स्मृ. ब्र. पु.] । मायापत्नीसहायो [ब्रह्मा. पु., वि. ध.] ।

३७. मणिशृङ्ग इवोच्छ्रितः [म. पु., वा. पु., हरि.पु. मणिशृंगमिवोच्छ्रितः प.पु. मणिशृङ्ग इवोत्थितः ब्र. पु.] । गिरिशृङ्गमिवोच्छ्रयः [ब्रह्मा. पु.] । मणिशृङ्ग इवोदितः [वि. स्मृ.] । महाशृङ्ग इवोदिताम् [वि० ध०] । मेरुशृङ्ग इवोच्छ्रितः [हरि.पु. १,४१,३५ वि० स० शा० भा०] ।

३८. भूत्वा यज्ञ वराहो वै [वा. पु.] । भूत्वा यज्ञवराहोऽसौ [हरि. पु.] । भक्ता यज्ञवराहांता [ब्रह्मा. पु.] ।

३९. आपः स प्राविशत्प्रभुः [वा. पु.] । युगपत्प्राविशद्गुरुः [हरि. पु.] । आपः संप्राविशत्पुनः [ब्रह्मा. पु.] ।

4. Nanda-Paṇḍita's Commentary named केशववैजयन्ती[1]

On the बृहद्विष्णुस्मृतिः from Deccen College collections, Ms. No. 39 of 1866-68. New No. 37. Age: Saka 1786, deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

---

[1] I am indebted to Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for very kindly sending at my request the above copy of Nanda Pandita's commentry. which is printed here without making any change or corrections, as I had no other manuscript material at my disposal.

वेदपादो यूपदंष्ट्रः क्रतुदंतश्चितीमुखः।
अग्निजिह्वो दर्भरोमा ब्रह्मशीर्षो महातपाः ॥३॥

[Comm:—'वेदपाद' इति]

वेदा एव ऋगादयश्चत्वारः पादाः। यद्यपि 'यदि चैव हौत्रं क्रियते यजुषाऽध्वर्यवं साम्नोरौद्गात्रम्' इति श्रुत्या त्रयाणामेव वेदानां यज्ञसम्बधत्वाच्चतुर्थस्य पादत्वव्यपदेशो नोपपद्यते। तथापि शान्त्यादीनामपि यज्ञत्वात्तत्सम्बन्धेन तस्यापि पादत्वमविरुद्धम्। यूप एवैका दंष्ट्रा धरोद्धरणसाधनं दंष्ट्राग्रेणेत्येकत्वनिर्देशात्। क्रतवश्चतुःषष्टिग्रहाभ्यासादन्ताः, चितिः श्येनः, कङ्कादिर्मुखं तत्स्थ एवाग्नि र्जिह्वारसोपलब्धि साधनम्। दर्भाः वेद्यास्तृतानि बर्हींषि, वेधोस्कन्धत्वाभिधानात्, रोमाणि सटाः। ब्रह्मैव शीर्षं शिरः कृताकृतावेक्षणेन मुख्यत्वात्। महत्तपः सामर्थ्यं सृष्ट्यनुकूलं यस्य स तथेति॥

अहोरात्रेक्षणो दिव्यो वेदाङ्गश्रुतिभूषणः।
आज्यनासः स्रुवतुण्डः सामघोषस्वनो महान् ॥४॥

[Comm:—'अहोरात्र' इति]

अहोरात्रे अतिरात्रसम्बन्धिनी ईक्षणे नेत्रे, तयोरेव यज्ञव्याप्तत्वात्। अहोरात्रसम्बन्धिनौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ वा दिव्यो अलौकिककर्मकारित्वादलोकिकः। वेदो द्विगुणितदर्भमुष्टिस्तौ चैष्टिक-पाशुकभेदेन द्वौ, तावेव श्रुती-कर्णौ, अंगंछिन्नो वेदाग्रभागः, स्रुग्रादि संमार्जनार्थः, तावेव तद्भूषणे कुण्डले च आज्यमाज्यधारा नासा नासिका स्रुवस्तुण्डं मुखाग्रभागः। साम्नां त्रिवृदादीनां घोष एव स्वनोद्घुर्रारात्रो महान् महाकार्यानुकूलानुभावदेहवान्। यथोक्तं हरिवंशे—

"वाराहे जलक्रीडारुचिस्तत्र वाराहं वपुरस्मरत्।
दशयोजनविस्तारं शतयोजनमुच्छ्रितमिति॥

]verse 5 :—]

धर्मसत्यमयः श्रीमान् क्रमविक्रमसत्कृतः।
प्रायश्चित्तमहाघोणः पशुजानुमहाकृतिः॥ ५॥

[Comm— 'धर्मं सत्यमय' इति।]

धर्मो अपूर्वं सत्यं यथार्थवचनं ताभ्यां प्रचुरः श्रीमान् निर्देश्यशोभः। क्रमो विष्णुक्रमः स एव विक्रमः पराक्रमस्तेन सत्कृतो भूषितः। प्रायश्चित्तं वैगुण्यसमाधातृकर्म तदेव घोणा नासानालिका। पशुरग्नाग्नीषोमीयादिर्जानुर्महती आकृतिर्देहसंस्थानं यस्य तथेति ॥

[Verse 6 :—]

उद्गात्रांत्रो होमलिङ्गो बीजौषधिमहाफलः।
वेद्यंतरात्मा मंत्रा स्फिक्तः साम (सो ?) शोणितः ॥ ६ ॥

[Comm :— उद्गात्रे'ति ।—]

उद्गातारस्त्रयोऽप्यांत्राणि शब्दानुकूलवायुसंचारनाडयः अत एव सामघोषस्वन इति। होम एव लिङ्गं शिश्नं। बीजानि श्यामाकादीनि ओषध्यो व्रीह्यादयो महाफले वृषणौ। वेदिः प्राग्वंशान्तस्थिता ऐष्टिकी अन्तरात्मा अन्तःकरणं। प्राग्वंशस्य कायत्वात् मंत्रा एव स्फिचौ सक्थिनी ताभ्यां विकृतो विलक्षणः। ऊहेन मंत्राणामपि वैलक्षण्यात्। सोमोरसिभूतः शोणितं लोहितं यस्य स तथेति।

[Verse 7 :—]

वेदिस्कन्धो हविर्गंधो हव्यकव्यादिवेगवान्।
प्राग्वंशकायो द्युतिमान् नानादीक्षाभिरन्वितः ॥७॥

[Comm :— वेदीति ।—]

वेदिर्महावेदिः स्कन्धो ग्रीवा। हविः पुरोडाशादिगन्धः शरीरः। देवार्थं द्रव्यं हव्यं पित्रर्थं कव्यं ते (न) वेगो रंहः तद्वान्। प्राग्वंशः पत्नीशालास एककायो होमस्य स। तथा द्युतिमान् तेजस्वी। नाना दीक्षा एक त्रि द्वादश संवत्सराः ता एव प्रकृतयः सात्त्विक्याद्यास्ताभिर्युक्तः दीक्षाप्रकृतिसंयुत इति पुराणात्।

[Verse 8 :—]

दक्षिणात् हृदययोग महामंत्रमयो महान्।
उपाकर्मौष्टरुचिरः प्रवर्ग्यावर्तभूषणः ॥८॥

[Comm :— दक्षिणेति ।—]

दक्षिणा द्वादशशतादिः सैवत् हृदयं हृत्पुण्डरीकं योगस्त्यक्तस्य द्रव्यस्य देवतया सम्बन्धस्तस्मिन् ये महामन्त्रा याज्यापुरोनुवाक्यादयस्तन्मयस्तत्प्रचुरो महान्। एकाहाहानसत्रादिरूपेण विततः उपाकर्मणी पशुस्तोत्रौपाकरणे ते एव ओष्ठावधरोत्तरौ ताभ्यां रुचिरः मनोहरः। प्रवर्ग्यो धर्मस्तस्यावर्त्तः पयः सेचनेन ज्वालामालादिततिः स एव भूषणं अलंकारो यस्य स तथेति।

[Verse 9 :—]

नानाछंदोगतिपथो गुह्योपनिषदासनः।
छायापत्नीसहायो वै मणिश्रृङ्ग इवोदितः ॥९॥

[Comm :— नानेति।—]

नानाछंदांसि गायत्र्यादीन्येवगतयो पंथानो मार्गाः गुह्या गुढार्थाः उपनिषदो वेदान्तवाक्यानि आसनमवस्थितिस्थलमस्य। छायाभिधाना लक्ष्मीः पत्नी=सैवसहायो यस्य। उदितः प्रकटीभूतो मणिश्रृङ्गनामा पर्वत इव ॥

5. Nīlkaṇṭha's Commentry in the Harivaṁśa

(a) I. 41-29-35

वेदाः चतुः-संख्यासाम्यात्पादा यस्य आदिवाराहोपासकैर्यज्ञागांनि वाराहाङ्गेषु चिन्तनीयानीत्येवमर्थोऽयं ग्रन्थः ॥२९॥ फलबीजमहौषधिः फले वृषणौ बीजं तदन्तर्गतं रेतः तद्रूपा ओषधयो यस्य। प्रसवहेतुत्वसामान्यात् ओषधय एवास्य रेत इत्यर्थः। विकृतोऽभिषुतः सोमः सोमरस इत्यर्थः। स एव शोणितं यत्र। समासैकदेशस्यापि सोमस्य विशेषणं विकृत इति ॥३२॥

उपाकर्म स्वाध्यायस्वीकारः स एवौष्ठस्य रुचको भूषणं यस्य। प्रवर्ग्यो घर्मसंतपनार्थो महावीरः तस्यावर्तः आवृत्तिः सैव भूषणं यस्य ॥३४॥

(b) III. 34-34-41

वेदपाद इत्यादिना यज्ञाख्यां तदधिष्ठात्रीं देवतामाह ॥३४॥ ब्रह्मशीर्षः प्रणवशिराः वेदांगश्रुतिभूषणः षडंगकुण्डलः ॥३५॥ क्रियामयानि सत्राणि गवामयनादीनि घोणो नासिका यस्य उद्गातैव आन्त्राणि यस्य ॥३७॥ उपाकर्म स्मार्तं वेदोपकरणं तदेव ओष्ठस्य रुचकम् भूषणं यस्य। आवर्तो नाभिः ॥४०॥

6. Version in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa (I. 4)

The Vishṇu Purāṇa gives the version of Yajña-Varāha by combining some epithets from the Matsya with some new of its own, and the whole thing is re-stated in a new metrical form as follows :—

पादेषु वेदास्तव यूपदंष्ट्र
दन्तेषु यज्ञाश्चितयश्च वक्त्रे ।
हुताशजिह्वोऽसि तनूरुहाणि
दर्भाः प्रभो यज्ञपुमांस्त्वमेषः ॥३२॥

विलोचने रात्र्यहनी महात्मन्सर्वाश्रयं ब्रह्मपरं शिरस्ते ।
सूक्तान्यशेषाणि सटाकलापो घ्राणं समस्तानि हवींषि देव ॥३३॥
स्रुक्तुण्ड सामस्वरधीरनाद प्राग्वंशकायाखिलसत्र सन्धे ।
पूर्तेष्टधर्मश्रवणोऽसि देव सनातनात्मन्भगवन्प्रसीद ॥३४॥

पदक्रमाक्रान्तभुवं भवन्त-
मादिस्थितं चाक्षर विश्वमूर्ते ।
विश्वस्य विद्मः परमेश्वरोऽसि,
प्रसीद नाथोऽसि परावरस्य ॥३५॥

In the above version the following ideas are common :— वेदपाद, यूपदंष्ट्र, क्रतुदन्त, चितीमुख, अग्निजिह्व, दर्भलोमा, अहोरात्रेक्षणधर, ब्रह्मशिराः स्रुक्तुण्ड, सामघोषस्वन, प्राग्वंशकाय ।

The differences are : आज्यनास of Matsya is missing here ; हविर्गन्ध is replaced by घ्राणं हवींषि ; महासत्रमय of Matsya is explained as अखिलसत्रसन्धि, i. e. the *Sattras* are the bodily joints ; वेदाङ्गश्रुतिभूषण is modificed by पूर्तेष्टधर्मश्रवणः in which the इष्टापूर्त dharmas are compared to the two ears ; कर्मविकर्मसत्कृतः has been changed to पदक्रमाक्रान्तभुवं which seems to suggest that the original Matsya reading was क्रमविक्रम as found in the Vishṇu-Smṛiti, Harivaṁśa and Śaṁkara. *Pada* and *Krama* were two styles of Vedic recitation which are compared to the striding (विक्रम) of Vishṇu.

7. Version in the Bhāgavata (III. 13)

The Bhāgavata gives a new interpretation of the अध्वरात्मक form of कारणसूकर (Primeval Boar) as follows :—

जितं जितं तेऽजित यज्ञभावना त्रयीं तनुं स्वां परिधुन्वते नमः ।
यद्रोमगर्तेषु निलिल्युरध्वरास्तस्मै नमः कारणसूकराय ते ॥३४॥

रूपं तवैतन्ननु दुष्कृतात्मनां दुर्दर्शनं देव यदध्वरात्मकम् ।
छन्दांसि यस्य त्वचि बर्हिरोमस्वाज्यं दृशि त्वङ्घ्रिषु चातुर्होत्रम् ॥३५॥

स्रक्तुण्ड आसीत्स्रुव ईश नासयोरिडोदरे चमसाः कर्णरन्ध्रे ।
प्राशित्रमास्ये ग्रसने ग्रहास्तु ते यच्चर्वणं ते भगवन्नग्निहोत्रम् ॥३६॥

दीक्षानुजन्मोपसदः शिरोधरं त्वं प्रायणीयोदयनीयदंष्ट्रः ।
जिह्वा प्रवर्ग्यस्तव शीर्षकं क्रतोः सभ्यावसथ्यं चितयोऽसवो हि ते ॥३७॥

सोमस्तु रेतः सवनान्यवस्थितिः संस्थाविभेदास्तव देव धातवः ।
सत्राणि सर्वाणि शरीरसन्धिस्त्वं सर्वयज्ञक्रतुरिष्टिबन्धनः ॥३८॥

In the above the following may be noted :

1. In addition to दर्भरोमा, as बर्हिरोमा it gives अध्वर as corresponding to रोमगर्त or रोमकूप.
2. The skin = the metres, which is a novel idea not foured in any other version.
3. आज्य = eye
4. In place of the four Vedas as the four feet, we have the four prierts (चातुर्होत्र), which is virtually the same idea as each priest represents one Veda.
5. स्रुक् (the big wooden ladle) = the snout, and स्रुव (the smaller ladle) = nostrils.
6. The इडा (a dish from which food is taken at a sacrifice = the belly.
7. चमसाः (vessels for drinking *Soma*) = the cavity of the ears.

8. प्राशित्र (a particular vessel for keeping Brahmā's share) = the mouth (आस्य)

9. ग्रहाः (small soma-drinking cups) = the throat.

10. अग्निहोत्र = act of chewing.

11. दीक्षा i.e. दीक्षणीय इष्टि (offering at the time of consecration) = repeated descent (अवतार) into the world.

12. उपसदः (three *ishṭis* preceding the pressing of *soma* in a *jyotishṭoma* sacrifice) = neck.

13. प्रायणीय (an *ishṭi* performed after *dīkshā*) and उदयनीय (*ishṭi* performed at the end of the sacrifice) = the two tusks.

14. प्रवर्ग्य (ceremony in the beginning of *upasada*) = tongue.

15. सभ्य and आवसथ्य fires = head.

16. चिति (fire-altars) = vital airs.

17. सोम = virile fluid (*retas*).

18. सवनानि (the three sessions in the morning, midday and evening) = postures or manner of sitting.

19. Seven यज्ञसंस्थाs (seven classes of sacrifices called अग्निहोत्र, अत्यग्निष्टोम, उक्थ्य, षोडशी, वाजपेय, अतिरात्र and अप्तोर्याम) = seven *dhātus* of the body.

20. सत्राणि (series of sacrifices continued for a number of days) = joints of the body.

21. इष्टि (sacrifices like दर्श-पौर्णमास, which are different from *yajña*, in which *soma* is not used, and *kratus*, in which *soma* is used) = tendons (बन्धन).

The *Yajña-Varāha* is said to represent the form of the three Vedas (त्रयीमयं रूपमिदं च सौकरम्, III. 13. 41). This is a basic interpretation implying that both *Yajña* and *Varāha* are but different forms of त्रयीविद्या. Its full symbolism will be explained later.

8. Version in the Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā (Ch. 37.)

The Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā, an ancient text of the Pāñcharātra-Bhāgavatas, gives a novel interpretation of the body of

Nārāyaṇa as Yajña to whom worship should be offered in an *ādhyātmika* manner, i. e. by the various powers that inhere in the human body (स्वात्मा) and represent forms of divine energy. The text is as follows :—

यज्ञरूपधरं देवं यजते स्वात्मनैव यः ॥३९॥
तेन सर्वे कृता यज्ञा भवन्तीह महात्मना ।
यज्ञरूपधरस्यास्य शरीरं वेदिरिष्यते ॥४०॥
आस्यमाहवनीयाग्निर्हृदयं दक्षिणानलः ।
अथास्य गार्हपत्याग्निरुदरं श्रुतिचोदितम् ॥४१॥
यजमानो मनस्तत्त्वं बुद्धिः पत्नी प्रकीर्तिता ।
स्वाश्रितप्रत्यनीका ये पशवस्ते प्रकीर्तिताः ॥४२॥
लोमानि बर्हिषस्त्वस्य जीवं हव्यं प्रचक्षते ।
सवनानि शिरो-मध्यगात्र-पादाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥४३॥
दश यज्ञायुधान्यस्य ज्ञानकर्मेन्द्रियाण्यपि ।
ऋत्विजः षोडश भुजा देवस्यास्य महामुने ॥४४॥
भक्तरक्षणसंकल्पो दीक्षा देवस्य नारद ।
ऋग्यजुःसामघोषोऽस्य भूषणाराव इष्यते ॥४५॥
सदस्या भूषणान्यस्य दया देवस्य दक्षिणा ।
जुहूर्ध्रुवा स्रुवश्चैव प्राशित्रहरणं तथा ॥४६॥
मेक्षणोपभृतौ वेद इडापात्री तथैव च ।
दारुपात्रं च योक्त्रं च चमसः सृष्टिरेव च ॥४७॥
पिष्टोद्वमन्याज्यस्थाल्याविध्मःप्रव्रश्चनं तथा ।
मदन्तीत्यस्य शस्त्रेषु चक्राद्येषु समाश्रिताः ॥४८॥

It may be observed that in some places the author has become too technical, but on the whole his interpretation of Yajña in terms of the human body follows the symbolism of the cosmic form of Vishṇu and is much influenced by the प्राणाग्निहोत्रोपनिषद्.

Here in place of the body of Varāha, one's own body (स्वात्म) is invoked for comparison for, which the following may be noted—

वेदी = शरीर
आहवनीय अग्नि = मुख
दक्षिणाग्नि = हृदय
गार्हपत्याग्नि = उदर
यजमान = मनस्तत्त्व
यजमानपत्नी = बुद्धि
पशवः = the hostile forces in one's own body (स्वाश्रितप्रत्यनीकाः)
वर्हिषः = रोमाणि
हव्य = जीव
सवनानि = the head, middle body and feet,
दश यज्ञायुधानि = दश ज्ञानकर्मेन्द्रियाणि
षोडश ऋत्विजः = षोडश भुजाः
दीक्षा = भक्तरक्षणसंकल्प
ऋग्यजुःसामघोष = Jingling sounds of his ornaments,
सदस्याः = ornaments.
दक्षिणा = Lord's grace (देवस्य दया)

जुहू (a curved wooden ladle for pouring butter into fire), ध्रुवा (the largest of the three sacrficial ladles), स्रुव (a small ladle), प्राशित्रहरण (a dish for pouring Brahmā's share), मेक्षण (a wooden stick or spoon for stirring at the *charu*), उपभृत् (a sacrificial vessel or ladle made of wood), वेद (bundle of *kuśa* grass), इडापात्री (a vessel for the *iḍā* oblation), दारुपात्र (a wooden vessel), योक्त्र (the thongs by which an animal is tied to a post), चमस (a vessel for drinking *soma*), सृष्टि (a kind of brick), पिष्टोद्वमनी (a particular sacrificial vessel), आज्यस्थाली (a vessel for clarified butter), इध्म (fuel as used for sacrificial fire), and प्रव्रश्चन (an instrument for cutting fuel) are the 16 weapons in the 16 arms of Nārāyaṇa.

9. Meaning of the Yajñāṅgas

The conception of Yajña-Varāha seems to have been formulated for the first time by the author of the Vāyu Purāṇa, which includes it in the proper context of *Sṛishṭi-varṇana*, and from there taken by the Matsya which adds it at the fag end in ch. 248. There are two aspects of the question, viz. the real meaning of the Varāha conception as applied to Yajña, i. e. its significance as a symbol of Vedic cosmogony; secondly the correspondence between the various elements of the sacrifice or Yajña and the different limbs of the body of Varāha as an animal.

We propose to examine first the string of epithets applied to Yajña-varāha :—

1. *Veda-pādaḥ*— The four Vedas are the four feet. The number 4 seems to be the basis of comparison. The reading is undoubted in all the versions.
2. *Yūpa-Daṁshṭraḥ*— This reading also is uniform and clear, viz. the long *yūpa* with its curved top is similar to the projecting tusks of the boar.
3. *Kratu-dantaḥ*— The *Kratus* are the Soma-sacrifices which are many in number and that seems to be the justification of their being compared with the teeth. Nanda Paṇḍita points out that the number of *Kratus* was 64.
4. *Chitī-mukhaḥ*— The *Chitis* are fire-altars built as a part of the *agni-chayana* ceremony. They are constructed with bricks and have a wide gaping mouth.
5. *Agni jihvaḥ*— This simile of Agni compared to the tongue of the God is approved by the Ṛigveda itself where Agni is several times spoken of as the tongue of the Gods with which they eat their food (घृतस्य नाम गुह्यं यदस्ति जिह्वा देवानाममृतस्य नाभिः, RV. IV. 58. 1). Any offering or oblation through Agni reaches all other gods, implying in its *ādhyātmika* sense that the food eaten through the mouth sustains all the sense organs and parts of the body.

6. *Darbha-lomā*— The *kuśa* grass spread on the altar is compared to the shaggy hair on the body of the boar. This reading also is easy, only *loma* and *roma* are variants.

7. *Brahma-śīrsha*— Brahmā is Vedic knowledge or the mind of the Creator, therefore its comparison with the head is apt.

8. *Aho-rātrekshaṇa-dharaḥ*— Day and night are compared to the two eyes of the Varāha. *Aho-rātra* are the twin symbols of Sūrya and Chandra, and it was usual to compare them with the two eyes of the Virāṭ or Universal form of the deity.

9. *Vedāṅga-Śruti-Bhūshaṇaḥ*— The word *śruti-bhūshaṇa* is clearly the ear-ornaments worn by the deity. They are compared to *Vedāṅga* which is susceptible of a twofold meaning, viz. the six Vedāṅgas, but that does not seem to be quite appropriate since in that case the number of the ear-ornaments will have to be taken as six for which there is no sufficient authority or art-tradition. It seems that Naṇḍa Paṇḍita is right in taking it as the two bunches of *kuśa* grass for sweeping the Vedi or the sacrificial fire-

10. *Ājya-Nāsaḥ*— *Ājya* or butter is compared to the nostrils perhaps for the reason that there were two *āhutis* called *āghāra* for sprinkling clarified butter on the fire at certain sacrifices. Moreover, the nostrils are the seat of *prāṇa* which is but another form of Agni, and Agni is considered to be identical with *ghṛita* ('आग्नेयं वै घृतम्', ŚB. 7.4.1.41)

11. *Sruva-tuṇḍaḥ*— *Sruva* and *sruk* are two kinds of ladles for pouring oblations on the fire, the former being smaller and the latter bigger in size. *Sruva* is compared to the *tuṇḍa* or long snout projecting at one end.

12. *Sāma-ghosha svanaḥ*— The gurgling sound of the throat is compared to the chanting of the Sāma-songs which appear to make an indistinct murmuring noise.

13. *Satya-dharma-mayaḥ*— This is the uniform reading of all versions. Obviously there is no mention of the limb of the animal's body and hence no physical comparison. But *Satya* is Yajña and *Dharma* is Varāha and the two are compared as explained later.

14. *Karma-Vikrama-satkṛitaḥ*— *Karma* refers to the body of ritual as practised by the officiating priests ; it is compared to *Vikrama* or movement of Varāha. An alternative reading of *Karma* is *Krama* which is a kind of recitation of the Vedic mantras. The reading *satya-vikrama* is not very suitable. Between *Karma* and *Krama* the former may be selected.

15. *Prāyaśchitta-nakho ghoraḥ*— The sharp claws are compared to the *Prāyaśchitta* or expiatory ceremonies that form part of *Yajña* for faults of omission and commission in the ritual. The other readings are not so appropriate or relevant to the meaning.

16. *Paśu-jānuḥ*— The animal tied to the stake for immolation in the sacrifice is compared to the knee-joints of Varāha. The point of comparison seems to be that just as the knee is flexed and folded, similarly the body of the animal is subjected to fracturing of its skeleton by blows.

17. *Makhākṛitiḥ*— The appearance of Varāha is compared to *Makha* or sacrifice. This is equivalent to the idea of Yajña-Varāha itself, namely wherever there is a *Makha* or *Yajña* there is the existence of the Varāha deity.

18. *Udgātrāntraḥ*— This is the reading in Vāyu, Harivaṁśa and Vishṇu Smṛiti, which seems to have been the original reading and not *Udgītha* of the Matsya in the Ananda Āśrama Edition. The reading *Udgātāntra*

in Brahma also supports it. The Udgātṛi or more correctly Audgātra, his singing of the Sāma-chant, is compared with the long entrails of the animal. The point of similarity between the singing of Sāma songs and the large intestines seems to be the length of the two.

19. *Homa-Liṅgaḥ*— The offerings of *ghṛita* made in the fire are compared to the *liṅga* of the animal, which also is the medium of fertilizing with the semen.

20. *Bījaushadhi-mahāphalaḥ*— There are several variants but this seems to have been the original reading as supported by Matsya, Brahma, Harivaṁśa, Vishṇu-smṛiti and others. The word *mahāphala* is a little obscure. I am indebted to Dr. Raghavan for pointing out its meaning, viz., scrotum. The herbs and plants which produce the seed are compared to the testicles.

21. *Vāyvantarātmā*— This is the reading in Matsya with a variant *vādyāntarātmā* in Brahma and Brahmāṇḍa. Another variant is *Vedyantarātmā* in Vāyu and Vishṇu-Smṛiti which is much better, for both *vāyu* and *vādya* do not have any justification in the imagery of *Yajña*. *Vedī* or the big fire-altar is compared to the *Antarātmā* or *Antaḥ-karaṇa* of the animal. There is, however, an objection to this reading, viz. that *Vedī* is mentioned in the next verse. Dr. Raghavan has suggested to me an emendation, viz. to read *Vāyvantarātmā*, as *pāyvantarātmā*, but this does not give us the metaphorical picture which would be true both in the case of *Yajña* and the Varāha-animal. Moreover, the physical limbs of the Varāha are as a rule mentioned in the second part of the compound.

22. *Mantra-sphig-vikṛitaḥ*— This is a difficult phrase with several variant readings as *mantra-sphig-ājya-sprik* in Vāyu, *Yajñāsthi-vikṛitiḥ* in Matsya, *mantra-sprig-vikramaḥ* in Hv. It seems that the original

reading was *mantra-sphig-vikṛitaḥ* as in Brahma and Vishṇu-Smṛiti. *Sphig* is a well known word denoting buttocks or hip. The changing movement of the hips of the boar while walking, running, butting or diving are compared to the *Ūha* or verbal changes made in the words of the mantras at the time of using them in the sacrifice.

23. *Soma-śoṇitaḥ*— Both the reading and the meaning is certain. *Soma* of *Yajña* is compared to the blood of the animal.

24. *Vedi-skandhaḥ*— The broad fire-altar of the Śrauta sacrifice is compared to the broad shoulder of the Varāha.

25. *Havir-gandha*— The smell from the body of Varāha is compared to the fragrance rising out of the *Havis* or oblations thrown in the fire.

26. *Havya-kavyātivegavān*— Matsya has *havya kavyavibhāgavān*, but Hv., Vāyu, Brahma and others give the reading *havyakavyātivegavān*. The speed or the vehement movements of the animal are compared to the *havya* and *kavya rites* for the Devas and the Pitṛis, viz., *Agnihotra* and *Śrāddha* with which the body of *Yajña* is kept in unceasing activity.

27. *Prāgvaṁśa-kāya*— It is the unanimous reading and the meaning also is fixed. Sanskrit *Kāya* refers to the trunk of a tree or the body of a lute. So the trunk of the body is rightly compared with *Prāgvaṁśa* or the main beam placed in transverse position on the upright pillars in a building or thatched roof of a sacrificial shed.

28. *Nānādīkshābhiranvitaḥ*— Reading in the Br., Hv. is *Architaḥ* which gives better sense, i. e., the different forms of worship offered to the deity may be compared with the several *Dīkshās* taken by the Yajamāna for performing different *sattras*,

29. *Dakshiṇā-hṛidayaḥ*— This is the reading in all texts. *Hṛidaya.* i. e. the heart of the animal which keeps it alive is compared to *Dakshiṇā* or sacrificial fee which by keeping the priests satisfied makes the *Yajña* continue from session to session.

30. *Mahā-sattramayaḥ*— *Mahāsattra* is a great Soma-sacrifice lasting from 13 to 100 days and performed by many officiating Brāhmaṇas. *Sattra* also has the meaning of an assumed form, and this applies quite well in the case of Varāha

31. *Upākarmoshṭharuchakaḥ*—This is the reading in Matsya, Hv. and Śaṅkara and seems to have been certainly the original reading. Because the meaning of *Oshṭha-ruchaka* was not understood, it was changed to *oshṭha-ruchira* in Vishṇu-Smṛiti and *Upā-karmeshṭi-ruchiraḥ* in Vāyu and *Upākarmāshṭharuchakaḥ* in Brahma. *Upākarma* is the reading of the Vedas and the same is compared to *oshṭha-ruchaka* or beautiful lower lip. This was a particular term invented in Sanskrit language of the Kushāṇa Gupta period. *Ruchaka* meant a round disc (*padaka* or *nishka*) which is mentioned as an ornament in Patañjali's Mahābhāshya, Paspaśāhnika—(तथा सुवर्णं कयाचिदाकृत्या युक्तं पिण्डं भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमृद्य रुचकाः क्रियन्ते). One of the marks of a beautiful lip was that it should be shown pendent with the middle portion appearing like a round disc (*ruchaka* or *padaka*). Hence the phrase *oshṭha-ruchaka* became popular. It is used in the Chaturbhāṇī Padma-prābhṛitakam of Śūdraka, verse 8, विभ्रान्तेक्षणमक्षतौष्ठरुचकम्. In the Kādambarī Bāṇa has used *adhara-ruchaka* describing the lower lip of prince Chandrāpīḍa, and again in the description of Puṇḍarīka (P. L, Vaidya Edition, paras 65 and 142). In the Harivaṁśa it is used twice, 1.41.34, 3.34.16. In the latter instance Nīlakaṇṭha rightly translates *Ruchaka* as *Bhūshaṇa*, an ornament. In fact the Hv. repeates the Veda-pāda

verses in two places. The Medinī gives *nishka* as a synonym of *Ruchaka* ('रुचको बीजपूरे च निष्के दन्तकपोतयोः). The pendant lower lip with a *nishka* or *ruchaka* in the middle may be seen in several of the Ajanta paintings.

32. *Pravargyāvarta-bhūshaṇaḥ*— The whorls of hair on the chest of Varāha which make for its beauty are compared to the *pravargya* or the big milk-pot into which hot butter is poured, giving rise to high flames. *Pravargya* is also called *Gharma* or *Mahāvīra*. The whorl of hair is also called *Deva-maṇi* and a number of them, i. e. five, in the front portion of a horse's chest were together known as *Śrī-vṛiksha* and a horse beautified with them was called *Śrī-vṛikshakī* as mentioned in Māgha, 5, 56 and Daṇḍin's Avanti-Sundarī, p. 94 A series of such whorls (*āvarta-bhūshaṇa*) is compared to the flames rising from the *Pravargya* vessel.

33. *Nānāchhandogatipathaḥ* — The various forms of movements of Varāha are compared to the different metres.

34. *Guhyopanishadāsanaḥ*— This seems to be the most approved reading, a variant *Nishādāśanaḥ* in some MSS. of the Matsya being surely corrupt. *Guhyopanishad* appears to be in the case of *Yajña* a reference to the *Vidatha* sessions of the priests in which only a few knowledgeable persons took part and discussed the mystical meanings of the sacrificial rituals. The exchanges and discussions at these assemblies became the Upanishads in which the secret meaning and mysterious knowledge were incorporated. This aspect of the sacrificial session is compared to the particular posture of the animal at the time of mating. *Āsana* generally is a seat, but also has a reference to the erotic postures.

35. *Chhāyāpatnī-sahāyaḥ*— Chhāyā is compared to the female Śakti of Varāha. Just as in the sacrifice the Yajamāna is accompanied with his wife, similarly God

Varāha has *Chhāyā* as his consort. This is a somewhat difficult statement because *Chhāyā* is the wife of Sūrya, also called Savarṇā. She was the shadow or counterpart of Saṁjñā. Why it should be mentioned as the female partner of Varāha is a question. The answer, however, lies in the fact that in the mind of the author of the Yajña-Varāha conception, the Primeval Boar is the same as Sūrya.

10. Symbolical Meaning

YAJÑA VARĀHA, ITS MEANING— The elaborate imagery describing *Yajña* as Varāha may be due to Purāṇic ingenuity to produce an impressive literary effect, but originally Yajña-Varāha is an entirely Vedic conception having a profound meaning with reference to Vedic cosmogony. The Vāyu Purāṇa sets the ball in motion by making the statement that Brahmā Prajāpati entered the waters of the *Ekārṇava Samudra* or the Primeval Ocean in the form of Vāyu :

ब्रह्मा तु सलिले तस्मिन् वायुर्भूत्वा तदाचरत् । ६।७
जलक्रीडासु रुचिरं वाराहं रूपमस्मरत् । ६।११

This statement is extremely thought-provoking and helpful and the author of the Purāṇa has extracted it from the Brāhmaṇa literature :

आपो वा इदमग्रे सलिलमासीत् ।
तस्मिन् प्रजापतिर्वायुर्भूत्वा अचरत् ।
स इमामपश्यत् । तां वराहो भूत्वाणहरत् । (Tait. Br. 1. 2. 1. 3)

Although the statement is there, but the real meaning is not clear and requires to be fully explained. Who is Prajāpati ? Why did he assume the form of Vāyu at first and subsequently of Varāha ? What is Earth and where was it concealed ? From which place was it lifted or rescued by the Primeval Boar ? In order to explain these questions in their background of Vedic cosmogony we might set forth the following arguments :

1. Meaning of *Ekārṇava* ;
2. Meaning of Prajāpati as Vāyu ;

3. Meaning of Vāyu as Varāha ;
4. Meaning of Varāha as Sūrya ;
5. Meaning of Varāha as *Trayī-vidyā* (*Trayīmaya Saukara rūpa*, Bhāgavata 3.13.41).
6. Meaning of Varāha as all-Gods (*Sarvadevamaya Varāha*, Kūrma 1.16.82).
7. Meaning of Varāha as a fat-dripping jar of butter (मेदुरघृतकुम्भ, ŚB. 5.4.3.19).
8. Meaning of Varāha as *Manyu*, the wrathful form of Prajāpati or Rudra (TB. 1.7.9.4).
9. Meaning of Varāha as Emusha (एमुष ṚV. VIII. 77.10 ; एमूष ŚB. 14.1.2.11).
10. Meaning of Five Varāhas (*Pañcha-Varāhakī-vidyā*).
11. Meaning of Varāha as *Satya* and *Dharma* (Matsya, 249.69).
12. Etymology of Varāha as *Vara* and *Ahaḥ*.
13. Varāha as *Prishad-ājya*, minute globules of butter (RV. X. 90.8).
14. Why the cows are called Vārāhī ?
15. Varāha as *Sahoja-Agni* produced by friction (*Manthana*).
16. Varāha as Bhṛigu and Aṅgiras.

We may now offer an explanation of the arguments stated above, covering the wide field of Varāha conception in Vedic and Purāṇic literature.

(1) EKĀRṆAVA— From the story as related in the Purāṇas it is evident that the conception of Varāha was rooted in the doctrine of *Ekārṇava* which was the same as *Salilam*, *Apaḥ*, *Samudraḥ*, *Ambhaḥ* of the Vedas. The idea is that the cosmos was concealed in the womb of its First Cause which was unmanifest, and is spoken of as the Primeval Ocean both in the Vedas and in the Purāṇas. The whole world existed under the *Ekārṇava Samudra* (Harivaṁśa, 3.10. 31-34, Vishṇu 1.3.24, and many other texts including the Matsya 2. 10. 14). I have discussed this

doctrine in detail in my Hiraṇyagarbha paper and also shown its intimate relationship with the *Hiraṇyagarbha-vidyā* PURĀṆA Bulletin, Vol. II. pp. 285-306 ; also 'sparks from the Vedic Fire, pp. 14-28). The basic idea is that within the womb of the Primeval Waters the cosmos existed somewhere in an unmanifest or invisible form. It is distributed all over the waters of that Ocean and some elemental force was required to bring it to a focus. The whole cosmos is symbolised as *Prithivī*, the Mother of all that exists.

(2) PRAJĀPATI— Prajāpati is the Creator or Brahmā, i.e. the force which makes the germ of the world develop into its manifest form. The foetus in the mother's womb is subject to the law of growth (*Bṛiṁhaṇa*) and the same is called Brahmā. It is virtually the same as Nārāyaṇa (ब्रह्मा नारायणात्मकः, Vishṇu 1.3.24). He is the highest *Brahman* (*Paramaḥ Paramātmā*) and has two aspects, viz. *Vyakta* and *Avyakta*. In his unmanifest state Prajāpati is beyond the categories of time and space, but for the sake of creation he assumes a relative form called *Vyakta* which is the aggregate of the Three Guṇas. The interaction of Prajāpati with *Ekārṇava* is explained in several ways. Prajāpati enters into the Waters as the Primeval force which brings about the churning of the Ocean and produces the Fire which existed in the beginning (*agre agniḥ*) and from which subsequent creatian takes place. Fire is the deity of *Yajña* and thus Prajāpati's incarnation or emergence from the depth of the Primeval Ocean is an act of *Yajña*.

(3) VĀYU— How the Churning of the Ocean or the first agitation of the still Waters of dissolution is effected was a question present in the mind of the Vedic and Purāṇic writers.. They speak of it in diverse ways. Firstly, they conceive of Prajāpati as taking the form of Vāyu which causes a current in the midst of the still waters. This is the same as *Manthana* or friction which results in generating particles of heat or fire. This is conceived of as Vāyu which symbolises in Vedic terminology the principle of movement. In the Upanishads there are two symbols, viz. Ākaśa for *Sthiti* or rest, and Vāyu for *Gati*

or movement. The Brāhmaṇas explain these two as symbolised *Yat* and *Jūḥ* by एष (वायु) हँ यन्नेवेदं सर्वं जनयति एतं यन्तमिदमनुप्रजायते, तस्माद्वायुरेव यजुः । अयमेवाकाशो जूः, (ŚB., 10.3.5.1-2).

Thus the principle of Vāyu was first engendered within the Waters of creation and produced movement (*gati*).

(4) SŪRYA— The principle of movement produced profound stirrings spoken of as *Manthana*, a deep churning in which nothing is outside the eddies or dynamic spiral gyrations which pull the scattered particles of fire within a prescribed field. This is a regulated movement comprised of the triple forces, viz. centrifugal or going away from the centre, centripetal or coming towards the centre and the latent force in which these two are merged. The restful centre is known as *Brahmā*, the outgoing force as *Indra* and the incoming as *Vishṇu*. It is symbolically described as a rivalry between Indra and Vishṇu (इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यदपस्पृधेताम्); they are interlocked in opposition for mutual victory (उभा जिग्यथः), but none vanquishing the other (न पराजिग्ये कतरश्चनैनोः, RV. VI. 69. 8). Their dynamic colliding movements create the Three Thousands, three divisions, or trinitarian patterns, of Three Infinities (त्रेधा सहस्रं वि तदैरयेथाम्). These deities or forces exist in each centre where dynamic movement is the main quality. Nothing can be created or made manifest without the inter-action of these three forces. This is the principle which was known in Vedic times as *Trayī-vidyā*, the triadic doctrine that is the bed-rock of Vedic and Purāṇic metaphysics. I have dealt with the doctrine of *Trayī* at length in my book entitled *Vedic Lectures* (pp. 21-41). By the force of this regulated movement which is symbolised as a perfect circle or a rotating wheel (*Vritta Chakra*, RV. I. 155.6), heat which was in the beginning distributed in equilibrium becomes effective at a point. Its particles come closer on account of friction and become effective as temperature. The ball of fire thus thrown up by the world-building forces or the churning of the Primeval Ocean is visible to our eyes as Sūrya in heaven, named Mārtaṇḍa or Hiraṇyagarbha Prajāpati, and Vaiśvānara on earth. He is the same as *Trayī-Vidyā*, as stated in the Śatapatha

Brāhmaṇa—What is seen as the blazing fire in the solar orb is nothing else than *Trayī-Vidyā* ('सैषा त्रय्येव विद्या तपति' ŚB. 10. 5. 2. 2 ; also 4. 6. 7. 1). Thus to the Ṛishis from the outset Sūrya became the symbol of the Cosmic Fire, of the divine Heat (*Devaushṇya* देवौष्ण्य), of the Primeval Fervour (*Agraja Tapas*, *Abhīddha Tapas*, RV. X. 190.1) of Prajāpati which is the foremost powerful agent of creation. As we shall see Sūrya is Varāha, and that is why Chhāyā is mentioned as the consort of Yajña-Varāha (*Chhāyā patnī*). Sūrya is not the physical ball of fire, althogh that also is always implied, but Sūrya is the great light called *Brahman* (ब्रह्म सूर्यसमं ज्योतिः, Yajur, 23. 48), the source and centre of cosmic consciousness of which a ray is present in each individual centre as *Viśvānara* Fire (अयमग्निर्वैश्वानरो योऽयमन्तःपुरुषे, ŚB. 14.8.10.1).

(5) VARĀHA AS TRAYĪ-VIDYĀ— It is thus clear from the above that Varāha, Sūrya and Trayī refer to an identical principle which is three-fold movement. In Vedic terminology this is also called *Ṛig.*, *Yajus* and *Sāman*, where *Ṛig* is the diameter (*Piṇḍa* or *Mūrti*), *Sāma* is the circumference or *Maṇḍala* and *Yajus* is the vibrating centre (*gati*) : —

ऋचा मूर्तिः, याजुषी गतिः, साममयन्तेजः। (GB. 1.2.9)
ऋग्भ्यो जाता सर्वशो मूर्तिमाहुः सर्वा गतिर्याजुषी हैव शश्वत्।
सर्वं तेजः सामरूप्यं ह शश्वत् सर्वं वेदं ब्रह्मणा हैव सृष्टम्॥ (TB. 3.12.9.1)

(6) VARĀHA AS ALL-GODS— The epithet *Sarvadevamaya* used for Varāha in the Kūrma is significant because once Agni or Sūrya is created as a result of the churning of Waters or the mother-principle, all the powers in heaven and earth become effective in that centre. This is the cardinal Vedic idea and therefore Agni is called *Sarvadevatāḥ* (अग्निः सर्वा देवताः, AB., 2.3) and Sūrya as *Viśva-devya* (विश्वदेव्यावता, RV. X. 170.4) This is also right, since Pṛithivī is lifted by Varāha from the Ocean and she symbolises the womb of the Mother or Infinite Nature and therefore all the forces or powers that function in the cosmos have their existence in the source or mother's womb.

(7) VARĀHA AS GHṚITA-KUMBHA— The ŚB leads us a step further in clarifying the imagery of Varāha by saying that

Varāha is a Fat-dripping animal (*Medura Ghṛita-kumbha*) :— अग्नौ ह वै देवा घृतकुम्भं प्रवेशयांञ्चक्रुस्ततो वराहः संबभूव, तस्माद्वराहो मेदुरो घृताद्धिसंभूतस्तस्माद्वराहे गावः संजानते स्वमेवैतद् रसमभिसंजानते, (ŚB. 5.4.3.19). 'Now the Gods once put a pot of *ghṛita* in the fire. Therefrom a Boar was produced; hence the Boar is full of fat, for it was produced from *ghṛita*. Hence also cows readily take to a boar, 'it is indeed their own essence or life-sap.' Obviously the Boar is an animal in which thick layers of fat underlie the skin. But this is only superficial, the real meaning is that Sūrya is the Fat-dripping animal from whose fat the cosmos is being created. The dripping fat is the temperature of its rays, the heat radiated by the Sun throughout space, and this is true not only with respect to our Sūrya but to millions and billions of other Suns in space, all of which are dripping this symbolical fat (*Vapā* or *Medas*) from which creation in different forms is taking place. *Medas* or fat is the same as *Medhā*, the offering or oblation by which the sacrifice is accomplished (मेदो वै मेधः, ŚB 3.8.4.6). To complete a sacrifice some animal must be immolated. Who is the animal of the cosmic *Yajña* ? It is verily Sūrya, the sacrificial horse in the cosmic *Aśvamedha* who is being depleted of his fat or heat. He is called Aśva, the Horse, because he is an exemplar of movement.

What is the symbology of *Ghṛita* ? The answer is that *Ghṛita* is but another form of fire, because it is an obvious fact that fire is kindled by butter and extinguished by water. Prior to creation there was an Ocean of water which had no butter in it concentrated at one place, although the heat was equally distributed. This Ocean of Water was converted into an Ocean of Milk (*Kshīra sāgara*) for the sake of creation. Conversion of water into milk is genuine motherhood. Motherhood is symbolised as cow. When the cow gives birth to a calf it also produces milk in her teats. Thus *Ghṛita*, *Gāvaḥ*, *Medhas* are connected symbols and all of them are related to *Sūrya* which is also spoken of as Calf of the Mother-Cow, of Infinite Nature. Now Sūrya is conceived of as the potful of butter, in which form Prajāpati as Varāha, the fat-dripping animal, has become manifest to our eyes. The Brāhmaṇa-writers refer several times to interrelation of *Ghṛita* and Agni :—

'तेजो वा एतत् पशुर्नाम यद् घृतम्' AB. 8. 20.
'आग्नेयं वै घृतम्' ŚB. 7. 4. 1. 41.
'एतद्वा अग्नेः प्रियं धाम यद् घृतम्' Tait. B. 1. 1. 9. 6.

(8) VARĀHA AS MANYU— Once the symbolism of Varāha as Agni and Sūrya is established the transition to Rudra as Varāha is quite natural, for Rudra is many times spoken of as Agni in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas ('यो वै रुद्रः सोऽग्निः,' ŚB. 5.2.4.13 ; 'अग्निर्वै रुद्रः,' ŚB. 5.3.1.10 ; त्वमग्ने रुद्रः, ṚV. II. 1.6).

Indeed the identity of Rudra with Agni was a patent fact of Ṛigvedic thought and is repeated in many mantras. Rudra is conceived of as *Manyu*, the wrathful one (Yajur., 16.1. 'नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यवे'). Of the animals Varāha also is full of much wrath ('पशूनां वा एष मन्युर्यद् वराहः' Tait. B. 1.7.9.4). In the Ṛigveda Rudra is spoken of as the heavenly Varāha having *Kaparda* locks on his head. There is again a reference to Varāha as Sūrya, who is the same as Rudra.

As a matter of fact the emergence of *Manyu* from within the womb of Waters is a significant fact for the Vedic Ṛishis, since Manyu is the principle of individuation, or the individual mind, which is the same as *Ahaṅkāra*, the Ego. Unless this unique centre of consciousness is produced in the midst of the Universal, there can be no manifestation of life, for which *Manyu* of Varāha or of Agni or of Rudra is essential.

(9) VARĀHA AS EMŪSHA— *Emūsha* (एमुष in the Ṛigveda, एमूष later) as the name of Varāha first occurs in the Ṛigveda (ṚV. VIII, 77.10, I. 61.7 ; also इयतीह वा इयमग्रे पृथिव्यास प्रादेशमात्री तामेमूष इति वराह उज्जघान सोऽस्याः पतिः प्रजापतिः, ŚB. 14.1.2.11 ; Macdonell, JAOS, 1895, p. 186). *Emusha* is a symbolical term composed of three elements, *ā* plus *īm* plus *ūsha* (आ+ईम्+उष from the root वस्), 'that which envelopes this (earth or the cosmos).' It is a pointer literally to the same doctrine of *Trayī* which enters into the womb of the Waters and by its churning force draws into its field the

scattered particles of fire, earth or matter and solidifies them into a compact mass round a fixed centre controlling a spiral revolving force.

(10) PAÑCHA-VARĀHAKĪ— The Vedic conception of creative modality comprises the five-fold pattern of Svayambhū, Parameshṭhī, Sūrya, Chandra and Pṛithivī, the first two being unmanifest and the last three manifest. They are known as *Pañcha-pura*, *Pañcha-jana*, *Pañcha-kṛishṭi*, *Pañcha-deva* or the Pentadic scheme of creation. Each one of these has its Varāha or the enveloping principle by which their respective forms (*Mūrti* or *Piṇḍa*) are held fast together round a fixed centre which does not permit the force to disintegrate and the forms to disrupt. These are together known as *Pañcha-Varāhas* as follows :—

(i) Svayambhū as *Ādi-Varāha*
(ii) Parameshṭhi as *Yajña-Varāha*
(iii) Sūrya as *Śveta Varāha*
(iv) Chandramā as *Brahma-Varāha*
(v) Pṛithivī as *Emūsha-Varāha*

All these are the same as the five *Prāṇas* which are the essential life-principles manifested in Matter. Thus the *Pañcha-Varāhakī* princile is not different from what is known as *Pañcha-kośa* and *Pañcha-Prāṇa* and which are the support or mainstay of the *Pañcha-bhūtas* or *Kshara Brahman.*

(11) VARĀHA AS SATYA AND DHARMA— In the Matsya an epithet *Satya dharma-mayaḥ* has been used in describing the Yajña-Varāha. Now Sūrya as produced from the womb of the Waters of creation is the symbol of *Satya*, which has rather a scientific meaning as the principle of movement which is regulated from a centre, that which has a Heart (*Hṛidaya*), which controls its corporeal or material form. Sūrya is such a centre and therefore called *Satya*. *Yajña* itself is *Satya* :

आप एवेदमग्रऽ आसुः । आपः सत्यमसृजन्त···तद्यत् तत्सत्यम्, सत्यमसौ आदित्यः
(ŚB. 14. 8. 6 ?).

In the very beginning of an *Ishṭi* the Yajamāna takes the vow of moving from untruth to truth, by means of Yajña ('इदमहमनृतात् सत्यमुपैमि'). The Purāṇas give to the Varāha incarnation the name of *Dharma* :

जलक्रीडासु रुचिरं वाराहं रूपमस्मरत् ।
अधृष्यं सर्वभूतानां वाङ्मयं धर्मसंज्ञितम् ॥ (Vāyu 67.)

Thus the *Satya* principle of *Yajña* has its counterpart in the *Dharma* of Varāha.

(12) ETYMOLOGY OF VARĀHA— The word *Varāha* may be split into *Vara* and *Aha* giving the etymology as 'वृणोतीति वरः' 'अह्नोतीति अहः'. The significance is to refer to the principle of force which envelopes, finitises or prescribes a limit to an undefined field and by its controlling potency gives form to that which was formless and creates a system of forces and counterforces, regulated or balanced according to a magnetic rhythm. Now this principle is best illustrated in Sūrya and its solar system therefore the main Varāha form is exemplified in Sūrya.

(13) VARĀHA AS PṚISHDĀJYA— The Ṛigveda mentions that there was a shower of globules of butter from the *Sarva-hut* sacrifice of Prajāpati ('तस्माद् यज्ञात् सर्वहुतः संभृतं पृषदाज्यम्' RV. X. 90. 8). The meaning of this statement should be clearly understood in the context of *Sṛishṭi-vidyā*. The *Sarva-hut* sacrifice refers to the cosmic *Yajña* ('विश्वा भुवनानि जुह्वत्' RV. X. 81. 1) in which Prajāpati made a total offering of himself, that is all his powers and modalities have become incarnate in his creation. When he wished to perform this *Kāmpra Yajña* (Wish-fulfilling Sacrifice), the first phenomenon that occurred was the collection of the distributed sparks of fire or particles of heat at individual centres. This is referred to as *Pṛishadājya*, the shower of minute particles of butter. The simile started from the churning of milk as pointed out above, the Ocean of Milk signifying the principle of motherhood. In the father there is the principle of Agni and in the mother of Soma, the body of both is churned and their union results in fecundation by the principle of *Pṛishadājya*. There can be no creation without the 'rain of butter' from the father principle

in the womb of the mother. The Ṛigveda referring to the clouds of creativity or to Golden Birds rising from the ocean of Varuṇa, distinctly mentions that as a result of the Birds fluttering their wings and splashing drops of waters the whole earth is moistened with molecules of butter (**घृतेन पृथिवी व्युद्यते**, RV. I. 164.47). The meaning of *Ghṛita* is clear in Vedic symbology ; it refers to *Retas* or the seed both in the individual (**रेतः कृत्वाज्यं देवाः पुरुषमाविशन्** AV. 11.8.29) and cosmos (**'भुवनस्य रेतः'**, RV. I. 164.36).

What was the source of this rain of butter ? The answer to the question is that Sūrya is the *ghṛita-kumbha* or the fat-dripping Varāha, from which the showers of butter or particles of heat or Agni are being scattered.

(14) COW AS VĀRĀHĪ— From the above explanation it will be clear that there is ample justification for the cow to be looked upon as Vārāhī, i. e. the container of milk and butter or of the Varāha forces which create the cosmic seed. There are such cows or forces in the cosmos and there is such a cow in each individual centre which at its proper time converts the ocean of water into an ocean of milk for the sake of creativity or the effective principle of motherhood. In fact in the marriage ritual the bridegroom is symbolised as Varāha, i. e. the personified form of Agni or seed or the globules of butter, which will function as the fecundating powers for the progenition of the child.

(15) VARĀHA AS SAHOJA AGNI— We have spoken above of the principle of churning or *Manthana* which is responsible to generate a spiral movement and thereby create currents of Burning Water or Boiled Milk. This force is known as *Sahas* and therefore Agni that is produced by the drilling friction of the two churning sticks is called *Sahoja*. Agni exists in each centre in a latent form until its flame becomes visible by friction. The same phenomenon happens in the process of creation described above. When Vāyu entered the womb of Waters and generated frictional currents, fire was produced and the same is Varāha as stated in the Vāyu Purāṇa. Therefore from the cosmogonical point of view both Vāyu and Agni or Sūrya are names of Varāha. In

fact it is one Deva Agni who assumes three forms as Agni, Vāyu and Āditya. This is why Varāha is the same as *Trayī* and the Bhāgavata actually calls it *Trayīmaya Saukara Rūpa* (Bhāg. 3. 13. 41).

(16) VARĀHA AS BHṚIGU AND AṄGIRAS— The primeval Waters Āpaḥ are spoken of as comprised of the two principles of heat called Aṅgiras and cold called *Bhṛigu* :

आपो भृग्वङ्गिरोरूपमापो भृग्वङ्गिरोमयम्,
सर्वमापोमयं भूतं सर्वं भृग्वङ्गिरोमयम् ।
अन्तरेते त्रयो वेदा भृगूनङ्गिरसोऽनुगाः ॥

This is just using a mythical language for a scientific truth and it amounts to saying that the First Cause of creation comprised the two principles of *Agni* and *Soma* or *Ghraṁsa* and *Hima*, i.e. the Plutonian and the Neptunist principles of Fire and Water (आपोभूयिष्ठाः and अग्निभूयिष्ठाः, RV. I. 161.9). The fact is repeated many a time in the Vedas. Therefore it is quite consistent to speak of the two principles of Bhṛigu and Aṅgiras as making up the First Cause called *Āpaḥ*. The only feature is that in the state of rest or the unmanifest condition the heat or fire is withdrawn into its substratum of water or cold, that is, *Aṅgiras* is concealed by Bhṛigu, but by the power of *Trayī-vidyā* or the triple forces as explained above movement generates friction and *Agni* or *Aṅgiras* becomes effective. Therefore the Gopatha rightlysays— अन्तरेते त्रयो वेदा भृगूनङ्गिरसोऽनुगाः (GB. 1.1.39). Here comes the importance of *Trayī-vidyā* or the three Vedas, in other words Varāha who is none other than Agni or Hiraṇyagarbha or Sūrya or Nārāyaṇa. This is the meaning of the great legend of Varāha incarnation which the Purāṇas accept as the principal motif in the scheme of *Sṛishṭi-vidyā* for which they have adopted a rich symbolical terminology.

11. . Hiraṇyāksha

The Asura of the Golden Eye is said to have stolen the earth and to have concealed it under the primeval flood. This refers to the incipient stage in which *prāṇic* manifestation had not become effective, although it existed *in principle.* It is the principle of *Varāha* which conquers the Asura and bringing the Golden Eye in his power gives an initial push to the creative process. Prithvī or Bhūdevī represents motherhood not only of our limited world but of the whole creation. She is the *Yoni* or Womb, namely primordial *Prakriti* or *Pradhāna* in which the Self-existent creator, Svayambhū, deposits his germ. This womb was seized by the Asura, but even he had the eye of gold namely *Hiraṇya* or *Prāṇa*, which finally becomes the sprouting germ opening on to the conscious world. In the Purāṇas Hiraṇyāksha and Hiraṇya-kaśipu are two Asura brothers, for whom Vishṇu incarnated as Varāha and Nṛisiṁha, whose birth and exploits are usually narrated one after another. Hiraṇyāksha is the symbol of creation *ab intra*, in the stage of Prāṇa, and Hiraṇya-kaśipu of the same *ab extra*, on the plane of Prakṛiti (Matter) which becomes the *kaśipu* or golden cushion of life or consciousness.

12. Varāha and Uchchhishṭa

The Vedic idea about the creation is that it is the *Uchchhishṭa* or overflow from a conscious center of Prāṇic energy which is perfect and full in its intrinsic nature and is called *Sahasra*, *Ananta*, *Purṇa*, 'Plenum'. From this source a portion becomes separated as its surplus (*Uchchhishṭa*). The transcendent *Brahman* is called *Brahmaudana* and the surplus portion *Uchchhishṭa* or *Pravargya*. The rejected portion (*Pravargya*) which separates or drops out from its immortal source is the mortal cosmos. Prajāpati so arranged his affairs that *Brahman* continues to live on his immortal food known as *Brahmaudana*, but at the same time he creates out of His own Self a centre which becomes the Eater (*Annāda*) of the mortal food (*Anna*), i.e. cosmic matter. It is Sūrya in the form of Varāha. The symbolism is very emphatic, because of all animals Varāha is the creature *par excellence* who eats the *Pravargya* portion of the food as it is rejected out of the body of a living Prāṇic centre. Sūrya is called Varāha, because as Kāla or *Saṁvatsara* (Time) it is eating the whole world, but on the other hand as Satya-Nārāyaṇa it is also organising and substantiating the energy radiated by its own immortal centre, which is *Brahman.* These are all primeval ordinances (*Prathamāni Dharmāṇi*) and expressed through more than one symbolism that may be profitably pursued for fuller clarity of the problem. The quint-essence of the whole conception of Yajña-Varāha is that there are two stages in the evolution of the cosmos. First is the existence of the first cause called *Samudra, Ekārṇava, Salilam* etc., and secondly the emergence of *Agni, Prāṇa, Hiraṇya, Sūrya, Nārāyaṇa, Hiraṇyagarbha, Yajña, Veda,* all of which are the same as Varāh. The Ṛigveda puts the two stages in a sūtra form :—

अत्रा समुद्र आगूढ़ं सूर्यमजभर्तन (RV. 10. 727.)

When the Devas like *Yatis* made a whirling dance with innumerable worlds as their foot-steps, they threw to the surface Sūrya who was concealed under the depth of the ocean. This ocean in the Varāha story is also called *Rasātala* and Varāha is named *Ādi-Purusha,* Primeval Being, whose main attention in ceation is to redeem the opposite mother-principle called *Bhūdevī, Pṛithvī Virāj, Prakṛiti, Mahat, Yoni,* etc. The union of the two parents namely Svayambhū and Virāj or Nārāyaṇa-Varāha and Bhūdevī leads to cosmic creation. This was an important theme in the philosophy of the Pāñcharātra-Bhāgavatas to which Kālidāsa has drawn pointed attention :—

रसातलादादिभवेन पुंसा भुवः प्रयुक्तोद्वहनक्रियायाः ।
अस्याच्छमम्भः प्रलयप्रवृद्धं मुहूर्तवक्त्राभरणं बभूव ।।

(Raghuv. 13.8)

Also, विलोलयामास महावराहः कल्पक्षयोद्वृत्तमहार्णवाम्भः ।

(Raghuv. 7. 56)

13. Mahā-Varāha in Indian Art

The most conspicuous example of Mahā-Varāha lifting the earth from ocean is found at Udaigiri in the rock-cut temple excavated in the time of Chandragupta Vikramāditya. In the age of the Guptas the Varāha exploit was known as *Saukara-siddhi* (Prākṛita passage in पादताडितकं, श्लो० ६०). What actually happened was the conquest of the vast area including

Aparānta, the Śaka kingdom of Saurāsṭra and Gujarat, and Malava, that was considered to be an extraordinary achievement, almost superhuman, which only the Emperor was able to accomplish because he represented the glory of Mahā-Varāha, the Primeval Boar. This idea caught the imagination of the people. The political inspiration and the metaphysical conception agreed well with each other about which the authors of the Purāṇas and the Kāvyas made their inspiring contributions.

What we find at Udaigiri is a rock-cut image of Varāha of colossal size, standing as a powerful human figure with a boar's head shown in profile. He supports the Earth goddess on his folded left arm. The figure is extremely well-built and wears a long lotus garland, which in the Gupta age was called (*Kiñjalkinī*, किञ्जल्किनी) and consisted of one thousand lotuses (Devī-Māh. 5. 51; Matsya, 247.50). In front of the Varāha is the figure of the cosmic serpent Ananta Śesha, literally the Infinite Substratum, who is supporting the Primeval God. By his side is the figure of Garuḍa with an eagle's head and holding a serpent in his hands. In the next panel the political idea is illustrated in an emphatic manner. Above is a scene of the descent of Gaṅgā and Yamunā from heaven and mingling their waters in the ocean. This is exactly a picture of Antarvedi or Madhyadeśa, the homeland of the Gupta empire. The river goddesses are depicted both in their natural and human form, first as two mighty streams taking their rise from the heavenly world shown here with divine dance and music ; and on the earth they are again shown in a human form (मूर्ते गङ्गायमुने, कुमार सं० ७।४२) i. e. Gaṅgā standing on *makara*, and Yamunā on *kachchhapa*, both holding in their right hands Full Vases (*Pūrṇa-Ghaṭa*). This is one of the happiest representations in Indian art pregnant with so much meaning.

In the wide space below is depicted the Primeval Ocean (*Ekārṇava*) in the form of high rippling waves (प्रलयप्रवृद्धमम्भः). At one end stands a royal figure who seems to be the Emperor himself, viz. Chandragupta, politically identified with Mahāvarāha and referred to as 'Deva' by his contemporaries, since he made the country free from foreign domination of the Śakas. At the opposite end stands Bhagavān Samudra, Lord of the Ocean, shown in human form and facing the king, both of them worshipping the mighty Varāha figure.

14 Mahā-Varāha—A National Motif

The achievements of Chandragupta Vikramāditya square up to the above representation. In addition to his exterminating the vestiges of foreign rule he extended the limits of his empire up to the ocean (महोदधि) on the east and the sea on the west by his conquests of Vaṅga and Aparānta respectively. His gigantic programme of consolidation of territory (धरणिबन्ध) included direct conquest of the north-west upto Bālhīka or Bactria on the Oxus (cf. तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता बाह्लिकाः) and a system of peaceful alliances with kings of the South (referred to as प्रस्वापन by Kālidāsa, Raghu. 7.), i.e. 'restoration of their autonomy or sovereignty' which had been disturbed by Samudragupta and by this his fame perfumed the waters of the south sea (यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिलैर्दक्षिणः, Mehrauli Pillar Inscription of Chandra).

The Purāṇa writers followed these political intimations with their inspiring exposition of the Mahāvarāha conception on a philosophical plane, which met with national approval. We also find the representation of Varāha and Bhūdevī in Chālukyan art at Badami, and in Pallava art in the Varāha Maṇḍapa at Mahabalipuram in the South. This political imagery was repeated five hundred years later and applied to the Gurjara Pratihāra king Bhoja (836-885 A. D.), who issued his Ādi-Varāha silver coins in large numbers bearing a replica of the Udaigiri figure on one side and 'श्रीमदादिवराह' on the other.

15. Varāha as Prajāpati

It will be clear from the above that the Purāṇic exposition of Varāha in more way than one was rooted in the Vedas. The Atharva speaks of an intimacy between Varāha and Pṛithivī:

वराहेण पृथिवी संविदाना सूकराय विजिहीते मृगाय । (Atharva, 12. 1. 48)

"The Earth Goddess loves the Varāha and opens herself for the wild Boar.' When the Brāhmaṇa-writer identified Varāha with Praiāpati (स प्रजापतिः वै वराहो रूपं कृत्वा उपन्यमज्जत्, TB. 1. 1. 3, 6), the whole gamut of Vedic symbolism associated with Prajāpati was invoked. Therefore, it is valid to speak of Varāha as Sūrya, Nārāyaṇa. Prāṇa, Hiraṇygarbha, Agni, Indra, etc., the principle of Life or Consciousness, which enters the *First Cause* or Primeval Ocean and rescues from its depths the Earth or the principle of cosmic motherhood with whom Varāha consorted. That is what is meant by the Earth unveiling her body for the Varāha, as a bride for her husband.

16. Varāha Myth in Ancient Greece

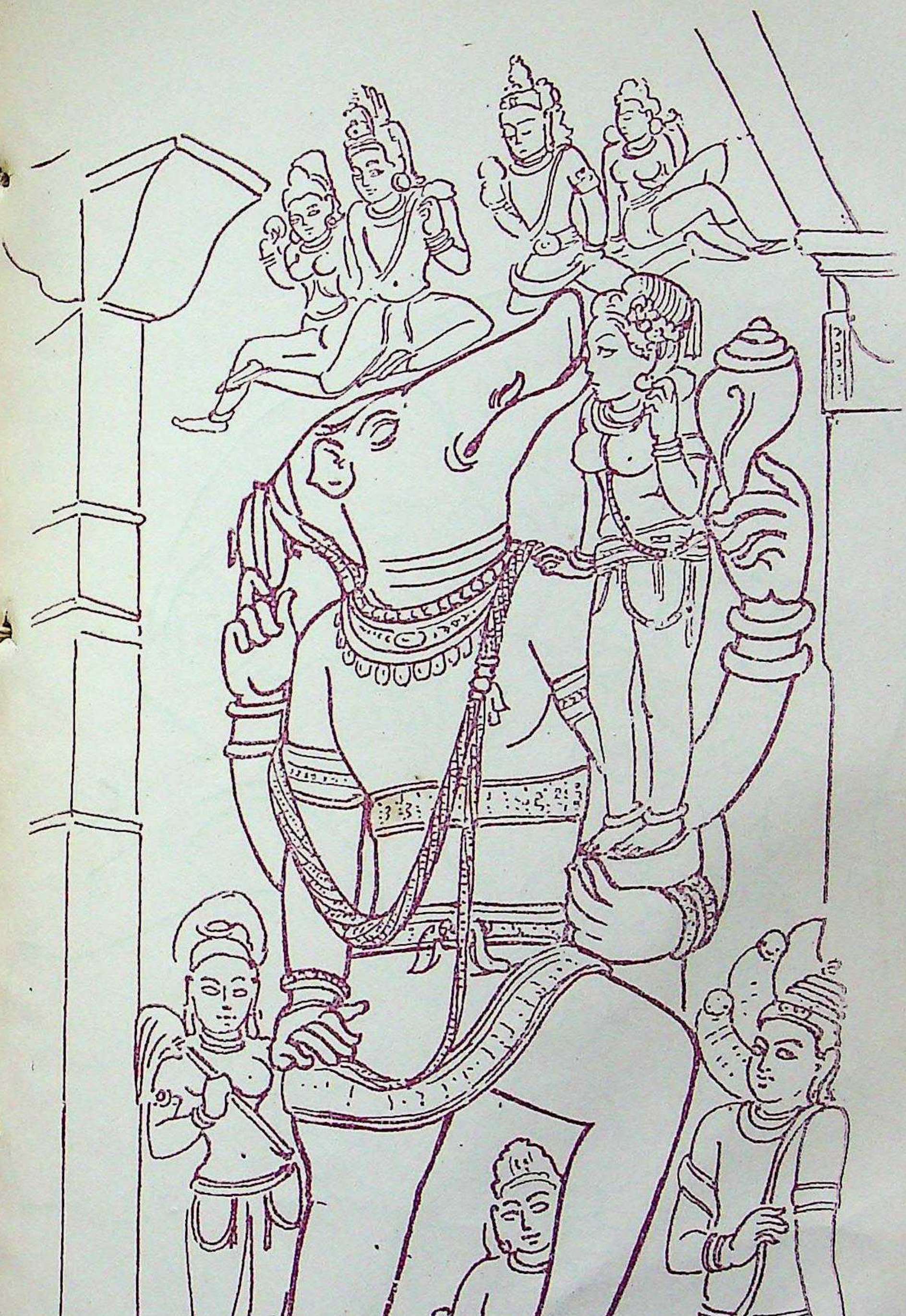
Dr. Gonda has drawn attention to an interesting ceremony called 'Eidopfer' described by Homer, in which a wild boar was sacrificed as an offering to Zeus, the Earth and the Sun. (J. Gonda, Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism, p. 137). He also traces many other references to the boar in Nordic, Celtic and Anstric myths and cults. It should, however, be cautioned that an anthropological approach to the problem is barren and inadequate to explain the Vedic and Puranic evidence. Here Varāha as Prajāpati furnishes the key to unlock the mystical truth. It is a complete spiritual answer in accordance with the Indian tradition.*

---

* I requsted Dr. Raghavan to give me a collated text of the Yajña-varāha verses as prepared for his critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa. I sent him all the references which I had found in the Purāṇas, Vishṇu-Smṛiti and the Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā. He was good enough to compare these readings with his manuscript-material. I had intended to incorporte this in the beginning of my paper on 'Yajña-Varāha', but it arrived after that portion had already been printed. The material for the critical text compiled by Dr. Raghavan carries undisputed textual authority, and, therefore, the material as received from him is being reproduced here separately.

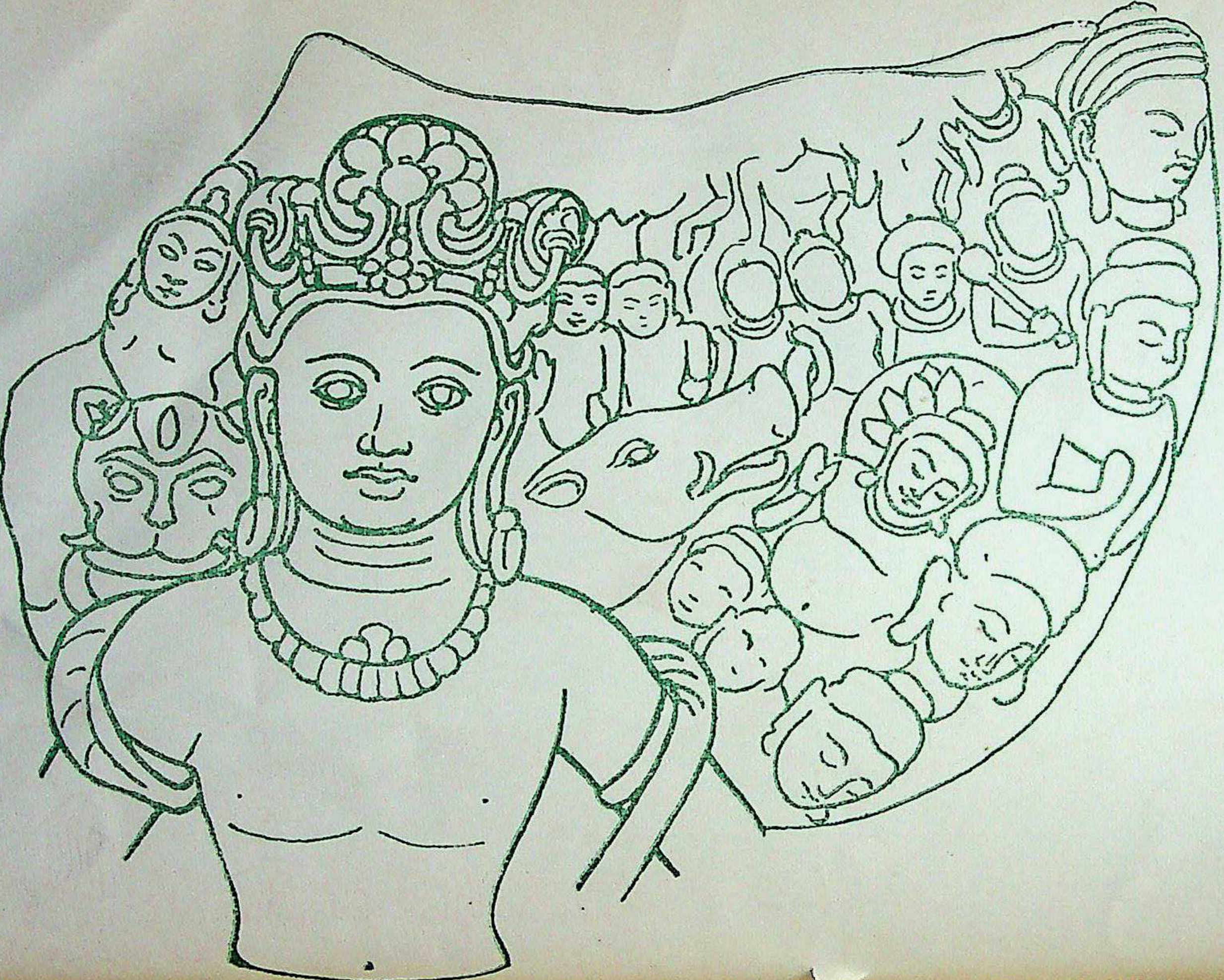
I apologise to Dr. Raghavan for inability to give it in the beginning of my paper.

PLATE I

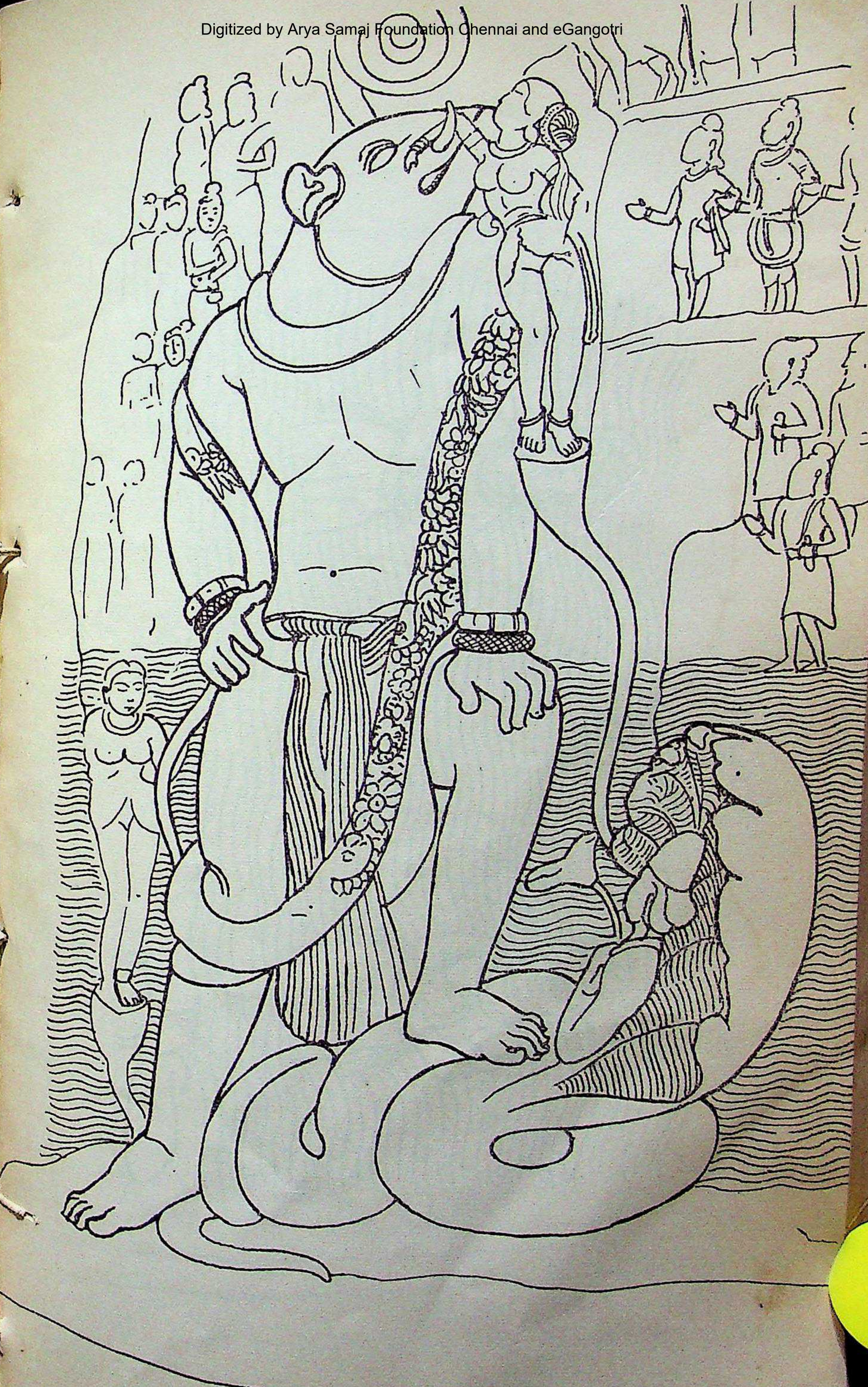


ahā-Varāha Image in the Daśāvatāra Cave at Ellora; Eighth Cent. A.D.

PLATE II

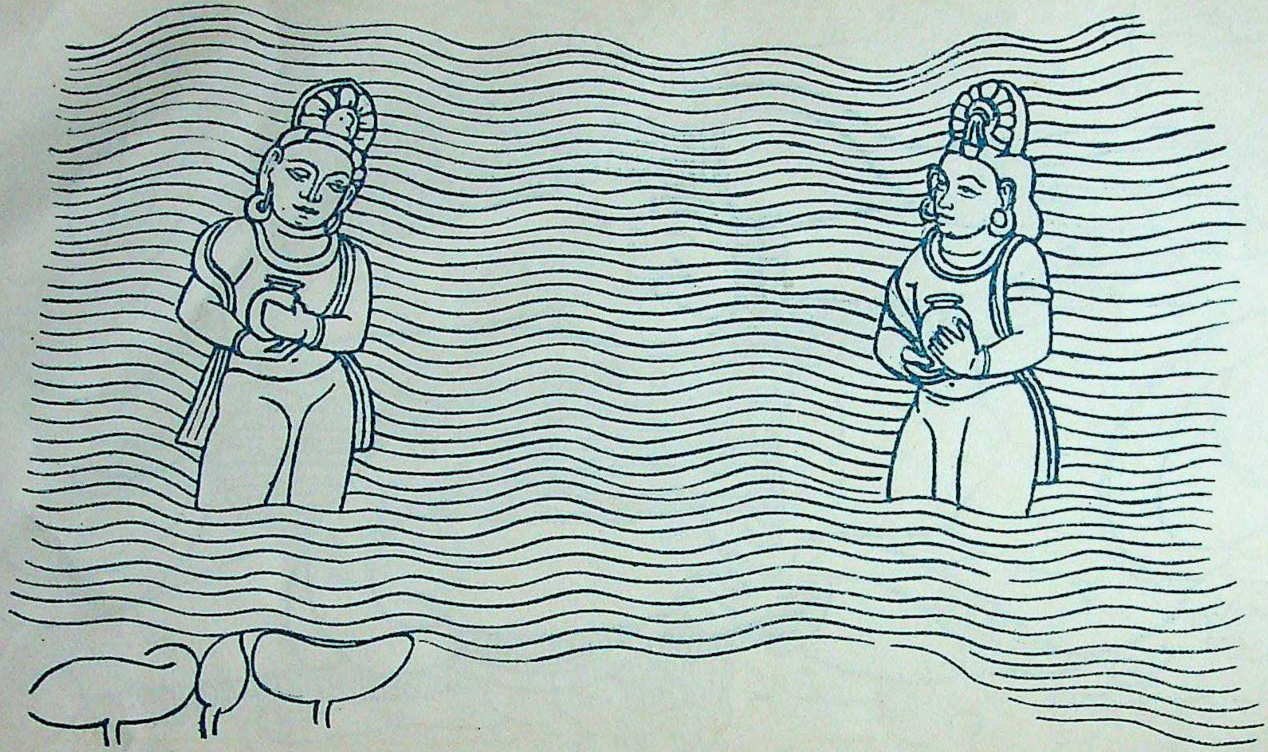


Cent. A.D.



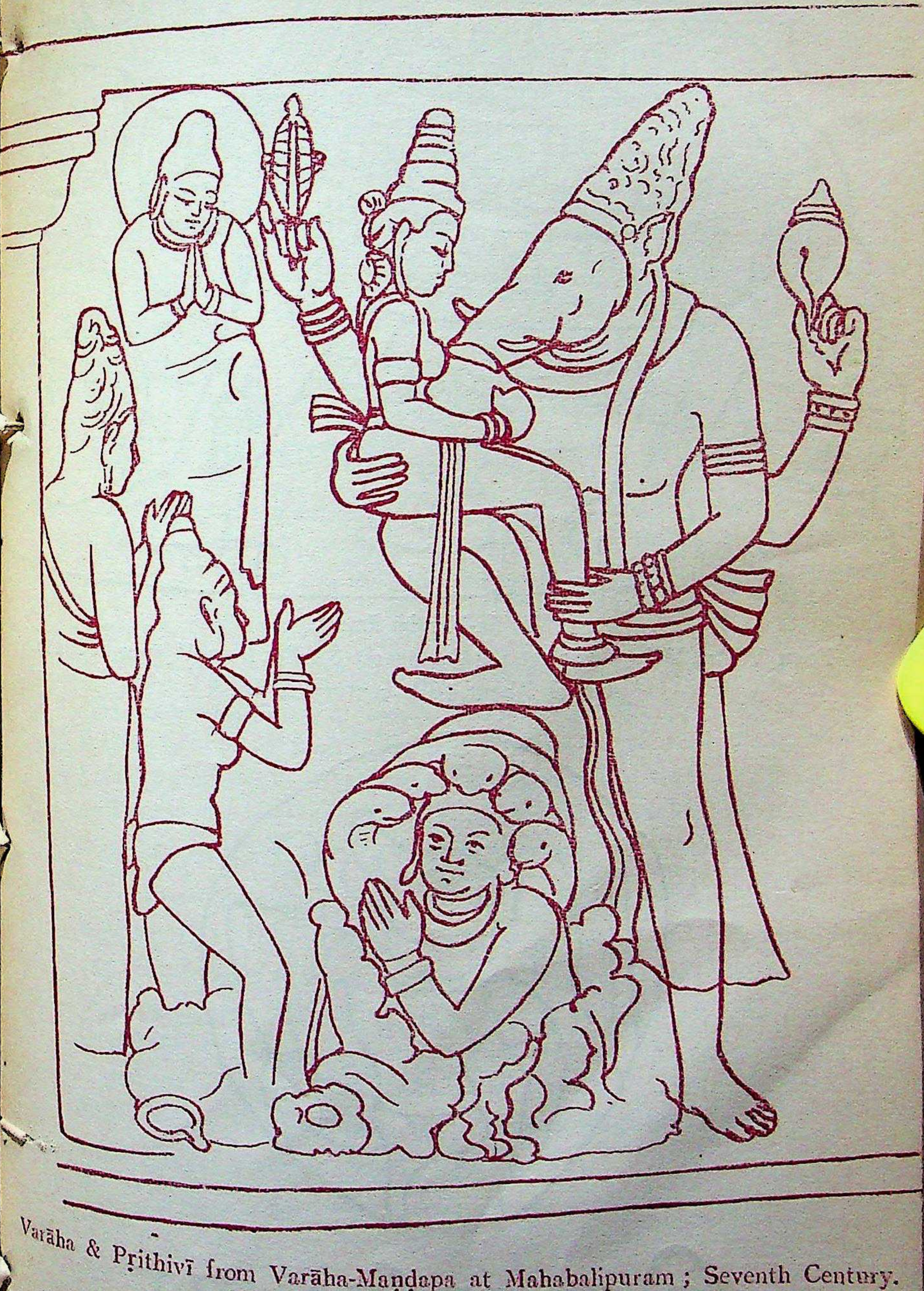
Mahā-Varāha Image, Udaigiri Cave; C. 400 A.D.

PLATE IV

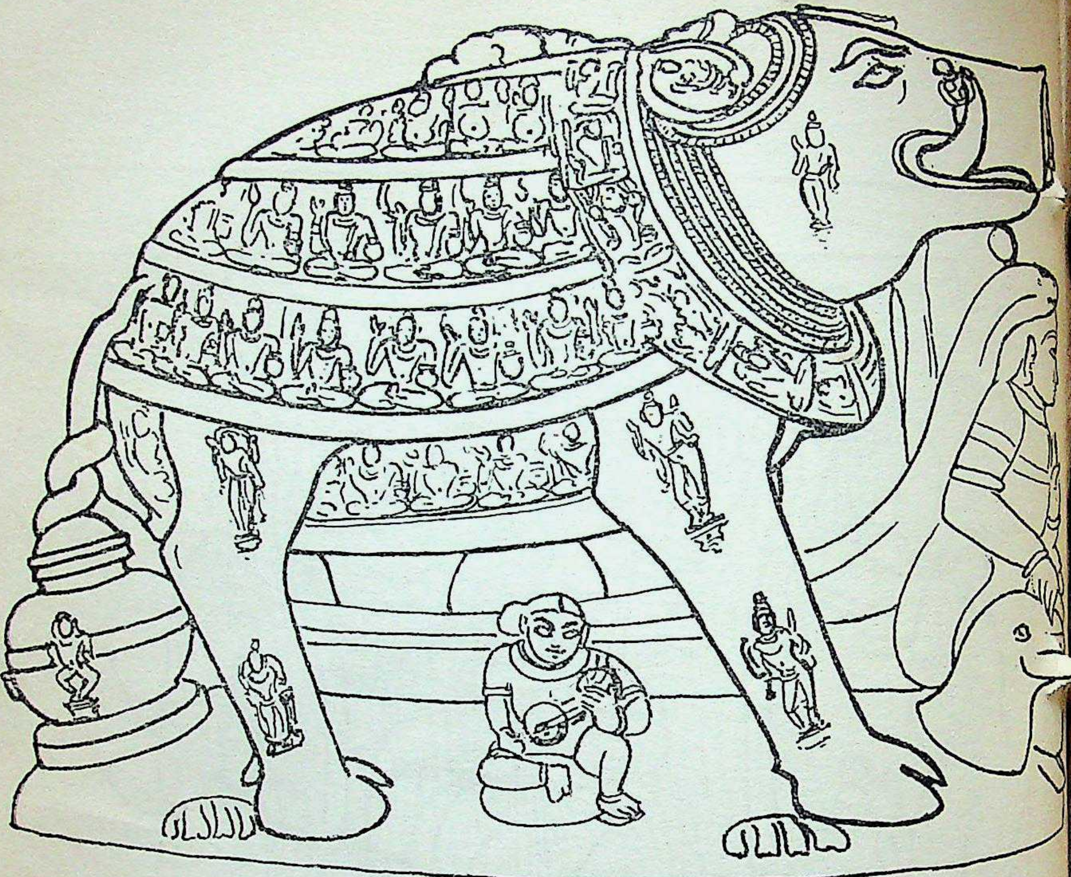


Ekārṇava-Samudra-Mūrti, Udaigiri, C. 400 A.D.

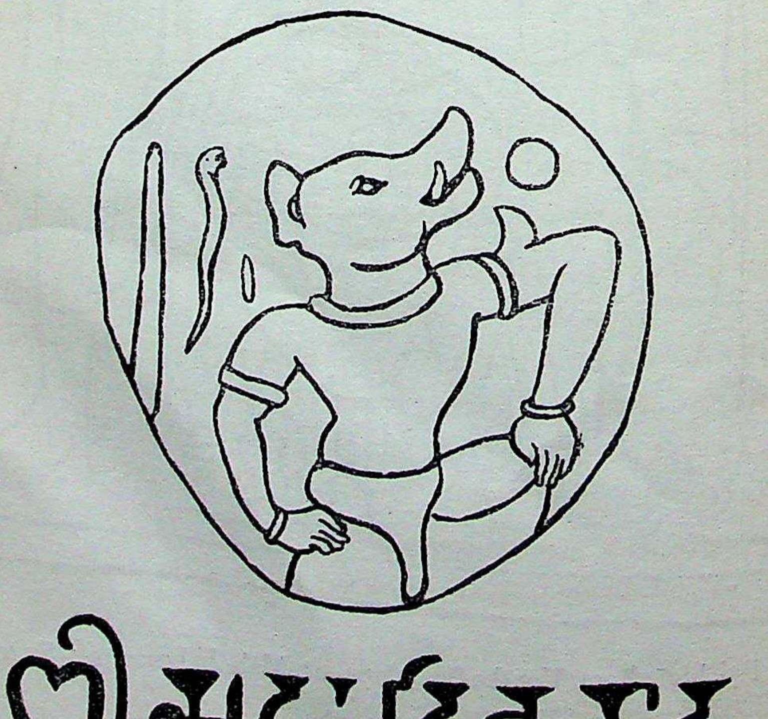
PLATE VII



Varāha & Prithivī from Varāha-Maṇḍapa at Mahabalipuram ; Seventh Century.



Yajña-Varāha Image
From Vihāra Village (ancient Varāhanagara) 8 miles from Vijāpur in North Gujrat About 10th century A. D.



Ādī-Varāha Silver Coin of Mihira Bhoja (836 – 885 A.D

MATSYA-TEXT RELATING TO YAJÑA·VARAHA

(Ān. Edn., 248. 67cd-73)*

CRITICALLY EDITED BY

V. RAGHAVAN

वेदपादो[1] यूपदंष्ट्रः[2] [3]क्रतुदन्तश्[4] [5]चितीमुखः ॥ ६७ ॥

[67 c-d] दे २०.** इदमर्धं नास्ति । [1] वायुपु सवेदपाद् । [2] ब्रह्माण्ड. दीक्षासमाप्तीष्टिदंष्ट्रः । [3] विष्णुधर्मो. चतुर्वक्त्रश्चतुर्मुखः । [4] दे ५. °दंष्ट्रः । ने. °हस्तः । वायु. °वक्त्राः । K. महा. °दन्तः । [5] दे ५, १७, १८, २१. श्रुती° ।

[1]अग्निजिह्वो[2] [3]दर्भलोमा ब्रह्मशीर्षो§ महातपाः[4] ।
अहोरात्रेक्षणधरो[5] †वेदाङ्ग[6]-श्रुतिभूषणः ॥ ६८ ॥

[68] दे २०. पूर्वार्धं नास्ति । [1] दे११. आग्नि° । [2] दे १३-१५ °कायो । [3] दे१३-१५. धर्म° । [4] दे१. °द्युतिः । दे६. °तपः । [5] दे२, १३-१५ °णचरो । पद्म. °गो देवो । ब्रह्मपु. महाभा. विष्णुधर्मो. विष्णुस्मृ. शंकरभा. हरिवं. °गो दिव्यो । [6] दे३, ५, ६, ९. मुते. ब्रह्मपु. महाभा. °ङ्गः ।

§ Cf. Viṣṇu 'सर्वाश्रयं ब्रह्म परं शिरस्ते ।' Śrīdhara on above takes Brahman as the Supreme Being. Viṣṇucittīya on above takes Brahma here as Praṇava; so also Nīlakaṇṭha on Harivaṁśa. Keśava-Vaijayantī on Viṣ. Smṛti takes it in a third sense, more pertinent in the context of Yajña, as the forth superintending priest Brahmā: 'ब्रह्मैव शिरः कृताकृतावेक्षणेन मुख्यत्वात् ।'

---

* वर्णनमिदमेतादृशानुपूर्व्यैव पुराणान्तरेषु अन्यत्र च क्वचिद्भिन्नतया च, दृश्यते । तद्यथा विष्णु. १. ४ ३२— ; विष्णुधर्मो, १ ३. ३— ; वायु ६. १६— ; ब्रह्म २१३. ३३—; ब्रह्माण्ड १. ५. १६—; पद्म ५. ३. ३३—; ५. १६ ५३—; भागवत ३. १३. ३५—; शिव (वायवीय) ११. २४—; स्कान्द ५. १. ५२. ४२—; कालिका (शब्दकल्पद्रुमे, यज्ञशब्दे); महाभारत Kumbha Edn. 2.45.5—, B. O. R. I., Edn. 2. Appendix 1. 145, Gorakh. Edn. 2. 33. pp. 339; हरिवंश १. ४१. २९— ; ३. ३४. ३४—; विष्णुस्मृति-उपक्रमे. ३-९ ; विष्णुसहस्रनामशङ्करभाष्ये ('यज्ञाङ्ग'-पदभाष्ये हरिवंशाद्); अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता ३७. ४०—.

**For abbreviations of the collated Mss. see 'PURĀṆA., IV. 2 pp. 409-410.

† Nīlakaṇṭha on Harivaṁśa takes Vedāṅgas as the 6 Aṅgas of Vedas, षडङ्गकुण्डलः । But Keśava-Vaijayantī, in closer relation to actual performance of Yajña, takes Veda in its other meaning, as a bunch of darbha and Aṅga as the tip-portions used for ritual cleansing: 'वेदो द्विगुणितदर्भमुष्टिः । अङ्गं छिन्नो वेदाग्रभागः स्रुगादिसंमार्जनार्थः ।'

[1]आज्यनासः[2] [3]स्रुवतुण्डः -सामघोष[6]-स्वनो[7] महान् ।
[8]सत्यधर्ममयः[9]† श्रीमान् §[10]कर्मविक्रम[11]-सत्कृतः[12] ॥६९॥

[69] दे २२. अयं श्लोको नास्ति । [1] दे ६. अनायासः । दे १. आजिनासो । [2] दे १३. °नाभः । दे १४. °नाभ । [3] दे ३, ४, ९, १२. तु । दे १. °थ स्रुकुण्डः । मुव. हरिवं. स्रुवा° । विष्णु. स्रुक् । [4] दे २-५, ७, ९-१४, १६, १९, २६. ने. °स्तु° । [5] दे ५, ६. समेघौघ° । पद्म. सामस्वरध्वनिः श्रीमान् । [6] दे ३, १९. °घोण° । पद्म. °घोषधरो° । [7] ब्रह्मपु, हरिवं. °रो । [8] महाभा. वायु. विष्णुस्मृ. शंकरभा. धर्मसत्यमयः । विष्णुधर्मो. धर्मः सत्यमहाः । [9] पद्म. वायु. °रतः । [10] दे ३, ४, १२. ने. मुते. ब्रह्मपु. विष्णुस्मृ. शंकरभा. हरिवं. क्रम° । वायु धर्म° । दे ६. लीलयाक्रम° । दे ५, ७. सत्य° । [11] दे १०, १६-१८, २१. °क्राम° । [12] दे १०, १६-१८, २०, २१. °सत्क्रमः । शङ्करभा. °सत्क्रियः । वायुपु संस्थितः । दे ७, °वत्क्रियः ।

† The suggestion that in सत्यधर्ममयः there is घर्म a vessel in Yajña, could not be supported by Mss. or other Purāṇas.

§ Though Krama is the reading of larger incidence, Karma has been closer in the interest of the metaphor. Krama is also likely to have been an alteration resulting from alliterative assimilation to the next word.

[1]प्रायश्चित्तनखो[2] घोरः[3] [4]पशुजानुर् [5]मखाकृतिः[6] ।
×[7]उद्गात्रन्त्रो होमलिङ्गो[8] [9]बीजौषधिमहाफलः§ ॥७०॥

[70] [1] दे ५, ६. प्रोथत्वेन° । हरिवं. क्रियासत्र° । [2] दे ५, ६, K महाभा. °मुखो । दे १, B.O.R.I. महाभा. विष्णुधर्मो. °मयो । दे ११. ने. °मखो । विष्णुस्मृ. हरिवं °महा° । वायु. °रथो । [3] दे १. महाभा. विष्णुधर्मो. हरिवं. धीरः । पद्म. वीरः । विष्णुस्मृ. हरिवं. घोणः । दे ११. श्रोत. । [4] विष्णुधर्मो. प्रांशु° । [5] दे ७, ११. ब्रह्मपु. °मुखा° । पद्म. वायुपु. विष्णुस्मृ. ब्रह्माण्ड. महाभा. विष्णुधर्मो. शंकरभा. हरिवं. °महा° । [6] ब्रह्माण्ड. °मखः । महाभा. °वृषः । विष्णुधर्मो. °यशाः । शंकरभा. हरिवं. °भुजः । [7] आ. दे ७. उद्गीथहोमलिङ्गोऽथ । वे. उद्गाथा होमलिङ्गोऽथ । दे १०. मुते. ब्रह्माण्ड. उद्गाता होमलिङ्गोऽथ । दे ९, १६-१८,

२०, २१. उद्गाथलिङ्गहोमोऽथ । दे २. उद्गात्रलिङ्गहोमोऽथ । दे ५. उद्गाथलोङ्गस्तोमोऽथ । दे १६. अङ्गतन्त्रो लिङ्गहोमो । दे २२. अङ्गतान्तोर्हो° । K., Gorakh. महाभा. औद्गात्रहोमलिङ्गोऽसौ । B.O.R.I. महा. उद्गातृहोमलिङ्गोऽसौ । दे ११. अङ्गतानो । दे १३–१५, ब्रह्मपु. उद्गातान्त्रो । दे २६. विष्णुस्मृ. हरिवं. उद्गात्रान्त्रो । दे १. उद्गात्रान्तो । दे ६. उद्गान्तान्तो । दे २. उद्गाताण्डर्हो । [8] हरिवं. महालिङ्गः । पद्म. होमलिङ्गी । [9] पद्म. ब्रह्माण्ड. Gorakh महाभा. शंकरभा. हरिवं. फलबीजमहौषधिः । वायु. स्थानबीजी महौषधिः । K. महा. पशुबीजमहौषधिः । B.O.R.I. महा. बहुबीजमहौषधिः । स्कन्द. °तनूरुहः ।

× उद्गीथ instead of उद्गातृ is the more common reading ; but Udgātṛ is prefered on the strength of all other Purāṇas ; and in the reading उद्गीथहोमलिङ्गः, the metaphor between Yajña and Varāha is not sustained.

§ महाफले वृषणौ—Keśava-Vaijayantī ; फले वृषणौ—Nilakaṇṭha. After Liṅga, Vṛṣaṇa is legitimate.

×[1]वाय्वन्तरात्मा [2]मन्त्रास्थिः[3] §विकृतः[4] [5]सोमशोणितः ।
†[6]वेदिस्कन्धो हविर्गन्धो[7] [8]हव्यकव्यादिवेगवान्[9]‡ ॥ ७१ ॥

[71] [1] दे ४, ५, ६, १४, १५, २०, २१, २६. ब्रह्मपु. वाद्यन्त° । दे २२. महा, शंकरभा, वाह्यान्त° । मुव, वायु, विष्णुस्मृ वेद्यन्त° । ने. वाय्वन्तरान्तरभ्रान्तिविकृतः । दे ७. भावानामन्तरात्मा यो । [2] भ्रा. मुते. दे११. यज्ञास्थि° । दे १७, १८, २०, २१. सत्रास्थिः । दे १६. सत्त्वास्थिः । दे ३, ४, १६. यांतस्थि° । दे१. यन्त्रस्फिक् । हरिवं. मन्त्रस्पृग्विक्रमः । वायु. मन्त्रस्फिगाज्यस्पृक् । विष्णुस्मृ. शंकरभा. हरिवं. मन्त्रस्फिक् । [3] दे २-६, ९–१५, १६, २२. महाभा० °स्थि° । [4] दे३–६, १६–२१. °तिः । [5] महाभा. सौम्यदर्शनः । [6] दे १–७, ९–२२, २६. पद्म. ब्रह्माण्ड. B. O. R. I. महाभा. वायु. विष्णुधर्मो. मुक. वे. ने. मुते. आ. वेद° । हरिवं. वेदी° । [7] ने. °र्गात्रो । ब्रह्माण्ड. °र्गन्धिः । [8] ने. °गव्य° । दे १–७, ९–२२, २६. °कव्यविभाग° । पद्म. ब्रह्म. वायु. विष्णुधर्मो. शंकरभा. हरिवं. °कव्यातिवेग° । K. महाभा. ° कव्याभिवेग° । [9] दे ७. वित् ।

× The reading Vāyvantarātmā is retained as it is supported by the evidences bearing on the concept of Varāha as Vāyu. See Vāyu (VI. 3c-d.) and Brahmāṇḍa (II. 7. 2) ; 'ब्रह्मा तु सलिले तस्मिन् वायुर्भूत्वा तदाचरत् ।' Cf. also Chāndogya (IV.16.1) : 'एष ह वै यज्ञो योऽयं पवते ।' and Śaṅkarabhāṣya thereon : 'एष ह वा एष वायुर्योऽयं पवतेऽयं

यज्ञः । ह वा प्रसिद्धार्थत्वद्योतकौ निपातौ । वायुप्रतिष्ठो हि यज्ञः प्रसिद्धः श्रुतिषु "स्वाहा वातेधाः" यजु. २।२१।८।२१. अयं वै यज्ञो योऽयं पवते, इत्यादिश्रुतिभ्यः वात एव हि चलनात्मकत्वात् क्रियासमवायी वात एव यज्ञारम्भको वातः प्रतिष्ठा'' इति श्रवणात् ।'

§ त्रिकृतोऽभिषुतः—Nīlakaṇṭha on Hariv., ekadeśānvaya with Soma.

† Mss. have वेद°, but all other Purāṇas वेदि. Vedi is wanted whereas Veda is redundant.

‡ Mss. read °विभागवान् which includes no metaphor. °वेगवान् supported by all Purāṇas. Vega here means the excreta, a meaning well-known in medicine and lexicons, cf. 'न वेगान् धारयेत्', Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya I. 4. 1. Keśava-Vaijayantī takes Vega as mere speed, but appositeness in regard to Havya and Kāvya is not there.

प्राग्वंशकायो [1]द्युतिमान् †[2]जन्मदीक्षाभिरन्वित[3]: ।
[4]दक्षिणाहृदयो[5] [6]योगी‡ [7]महासत्त्रमयो[8] [9]महान् ॥७२॥

[72]. [1] दे ११, १२, २२. ने. मति° । [2] ने. दानदी° । दे १-३, ७, ६, १०-२२, २६. आ. वे. पद्म. ब्रह्म. ब्रह्माण्ड. महाभा. वायु विष्णुधर्मो. विष्णुस्मृ. शङ्करभा. हरिवं. मुक. मुते. मुव. जी. नानादी° । [3] दे१७, २०, २१, °रभिक्षितः (भिरक्षितः)। पद्म. शंकरभा, हरिवं. °भिरर्चितः । B. O. R. I., Gorakh महाभा. °भिराचितः । K. महा. °भिरूर्जितः । [4] दे१०. दाक्षिण्य° । [5] दे२. हुतभुक् । [6] विष्णुस्मृ. योगः । [7] ब्रह्माण्ड. श्रद्धा° । [8] दे१. °यन्त्र° । दे २, ब्रह्माण्ड. °सत्त्व° । K., Gorakh. महा. °शास्त्र° । विष्णुधर्मो. °क्रतु° । विष्णुस्मृ. °मन्त्र° । [9] ब्रह्माण्ड. वायु. विभुः ।

† जन्म is supported by two mss. and by the sense required here. Dīkṣā is a new sacramental birth for a holy act and the Lord also takes births or forms for specific missions of Dharma (Cf. Gīta 'जन्म कर्म च मे दिव्यम्' IV. 9.). The elaborate Yajña-Varāha metaphor in the Bhāgavata has दीक्षानुजन्म.

‡ योगी here does not have the well-known meaning of that word. It goes with the next word महासत्त्रमयः, and the two form a vyasta-rūpaka ; Yogī here means 'having a well-built body'; Saṁhanana is an accepted meaning of Yoga; cf. lex. 'योगः संहननोपायम्'

More than that this meaning is supported by the description of Yajña-Varāha in other Purāṇas where the different Sattras are given as the Sandhis or joints of the body: See Viṣṇu **'अखिलसत्रसन्धे'**; Bhāg. **'सत्राणि सर्वाणि शरीरसन्धिः ।'**

[1]उपाकर्मौष्ठ[2]-रुचकः[3]† [4]प्रवर्ग्यावर्त§भूषण[5]ः ।
नानाछन्दो गतिपथो[6] गुह्योपनिषदासनः ।

[73 a d] दे १. पद्म. महाभा. विष्णुधर्मो. द्वितीयमर्धं नास्ति । [1] दे ५, ६. ततः । दे २. तपः । [2] दे १. वायु. विष्णुधर्मो. °मैष्ठि° । ब्रह्माण्ड. °मेरुचिरश्चैव । [3] मुक, दे १. वायु, विष्णुधर्मो, विष्णुस्मृ. °रुचिरः । [4] K. महाभा. प्रावर्ग्या° । दे १३, १४. प्राग्वर्ग्या° । दे ९, ११, १२. प्रवर्गा° । वायु. प्रवर्ग्यवित्त° । दे १. प्रवर्ग्योऽनन्त° । [5] दे ९. °जूषकः । [6] दे ५, ६. °योगो ।

† Though **रुचिरः** is the general reading in mss. and some Purāṇas, **रुचक** of **आ.** and some other Purāṇas is retained; and apart from faint support of the syllable **'क'** here in some mss., the context speaking of ornaments (bhūṣaṇa) supports the retention of **रुचक.** See also Nilkaṇṭha on Hari : **'ओष्ठस्य रुचकं भूषणं यस्य ।'**

§ Āvartta is differently interpreted as repeating of certain acts in Yajña, as the spreading flames, and is once taken with Varāha-puruṣa as his Nābhi. It may also refer to the circles or rings in the hair on the body, romāvartta, which is considered to be a feature of beauty, lakṣaṇa.

† [1]छायापत्नीसहायो वै [2]मणिश्रृङ्ग[3] [4]इवोत्थितः[5] ॥ ७३ ॥

[73 e-f] [1] K. महा. शाला° । ब्रह्माण्ड, विष्णुधर्मो. माया° । [3] शंकरभा, हरिवं. मेरु° । ब्रह्माण्ड. गिरि° । विष्णुधर्मो. महा° । पद्म. समुत्थितो नील इवाचलो महान् । [3] दे ५, ६. सङ्ग । [4] K महा. समु° । ब्रह्माण्ड. पद्म. °मिवो° । दे १७, १८, २०, २१. इहो° । दे ५, ६. समो° । [5] विष्णुस्मृ. °दितः । विष्णुधर्मो. °दिताम् । आ. वे. जी. मुक. दे १-७, ९, १०, १२-१५, १९, २२, २६. पद्म. महाभा. वायु. शंकरभा. हरिवं. °च्छ्रितः । ब्रह्माण्ड. °च्छ्रयः ।

† Whole line intriguing. In the first pāda, there is obviously no metaphor between the two and it is to be taken as an epithet of something that follows. In the second pāda, *Maṇiśṛṅga* is quite baffling. St. Pet. Dict., citing this same

text, gives what is possible in the context, viz. the Sun; the line would then mean probably 'risen like the Sun, who has for his consort Chāyā', Sun as Chāyāpati being well-known. But while Maṇi is found among names af the Sun, the word Maṇi-śṛṅga does not occur elsewhere, even the Sūrya-sahasra-nāmas not having this. The mss. and other Purāṇas have all sorts of simplified readings—all meaning mountain, which go only to prove a difficult original reading here.

EUROPEAN TRANSLATIONS OF PURĀṆIC TEXTS

BY

JUAN ROGER RIVIÈRE

[यूरोपमहादेशे पुराणानाम् अध्ययनस्य तेषाम् अनुवादानां (भाषान्तराणां) च समारम्भो विकासश्च कदा कथं चाभूदित्यत्र निबन्धे लेखकमहोदयेन सविस्तरं वर्णितम् । आंग्लदेशीयः श्रीविलियमजोन्समहोदयः संस्कृतानुरागिणां भारतीयसंस्कृतिपोषकाणां चाग्रणीरासीत्, स भारते दशवर्षाणि (१७८३-९४ ई०) न्यवसत् । १७८९ ई० वर्षे तेन शाकुन्तलस्यानुवादः कृतः । पुराणानामपि स आंग्लभाषान्तरं कर्त्तुमियेषेति तस्य देहावसानानन्तरं प्राप्तेभ्यस्तस्य पत्रेभ्योऽवगम्यते । तदनन्तरं हारेस हेमन विलसनमहोदयेन १८४० ई० वर्षे विष्णुपुराणस्य स्वकृतम् आंग्लभाषान्तरं प्रकाशितम् । फ्रांसदेशीयेन विदुषा ई० बरनोफमहोदयेन फ्रांसभाषायां भागवतपुराणस्यानुवादोऽपि १८४० ई० वर्षे प्रकाशितः । १९०८ ई० वर्षे पार्जिटरमहाशयेन मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य आंग्लभाषान्तरं प्रकाशितम् । १९२१ ई० वर्षे ई० एबेगमहोदयेन सारोद्धारनाम्नो गरुडपुराणीयप्रेतकल्पसारस्य जर्मनभाषायाम् अनुवादः प्रकाशितः । १९३० ई० वर्षे ए० होहेनबरजेरमहोदयेन जर्मनभाषायां मत्स्यपुराणस्य विषयप्रविभागः प्रकाशितः । १९३४ ई० वर्षे एम० वैलोरिमहाशयेन च स्कन्दपुराणस्य विषयप्रविभागः इटलीभाषायां प्रकाशितः । एते सर्वे एव अनुवादग्रन्था इदानीं दुर्लभाः संवृत्ताः । कैश्चिद् भारतीयविद्वद्भिश्चापि यूरोपीयविदुषां सरणिमनुसृत्य कतिचित् पुराणभाषान्तराणि प्रस्तुतानि, तेषामपि विवरणमत्र प्रदत्तम् ।]

It may be interesting to study the historical evolution of the knowledge and translations of the Purāṇa in Europe. We can say that the decisive period of the scientific understanding of the Indian texts in Europe opens with the arrival in India, towards 1780, of some pioneers who interested themselves with the new culture they met.

Tne first of them is Sir William Jones (1746–1794), poet, thinker, man of action and man of science. As Suniti Kumar Chatterji said in the Bicentenary Address delivered on January 7, 1946 in the Commemoration Volume published by the Royal

Asiatic Society of Bengal, "Sir William Jones formed a gift of the premier rank which Europe made to India through England... He was not only an incarnation of the intellectual curiosity of the highly cultivated and humanistic eighteenth century Europe—he was something more: his work has meant more for us Indians than what he himself or any compatriot of his was conscious of".

William Jones composed a number of original poems and in some of them he celebrated Hindu deities and Hindu stories. He translated *Śakuntalā* in 1789; he wrote a *Persian Grammar* and other translations of Arabic texts. But the great work of his life was the foundation of the *Asiatic Society* with the collaboration of a few Englishmen like Charles Wilkins, the first Englishman and one of the first Europeans to study Sanskrit. As Lawyer, in March 1783, Jones obtained his appointment to a judgeship of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Calcutta. He joined his official duties in December 1783 and in January 1784, he founded the *Asiatic Society*, later known, in 1839, as the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

Up to his death, for ten years, Jones investigated many questions in the Indian Literature, Hindu Zodiac, Astronomy, Sciences, etc. He became the foremost Sanskrit scholar among Europeans. But it is very interesting to read in the same Bicentenary Address of Suniti Kumar Chatterji the following lines:

"We cannot but admire the man who in a series of *Desiderata* written out in his own hand (which was found in his papers after his death) had placed before himself the following vast and comprehensive scholarly projects:

Desiderata

1. The Ancient Geography of India, etc., from the Purāṇas.
2. A Botanical Description of Indian Plants, from the coshas, etc.
3. A Grammar of the Sanscrit Language, from Pāṇini, etc.

4. A Dictionary of the Sanscrit Language, from the thirty-two original Vocabularies and Niructi.
5. On the Ancient Music of the Indians.
6. On the Medical Substances of India, and the Indian Art of Medicine.
7. On the Philosophy of the Ancient Indians.
8. A Translation of the Veda.
9. On Ancient Indian Geometry, Astronomy and Algebra.
10. A Translation of the Purāṇas.
11. Translation of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa.
12. On the Indian Theatre, etc., etc.
13. On the Indian Constellations, with their Mythology from the Purāṇas.
14. The History of India, before the Muhammadan conquest, from the Sanscrit Kashmir Histories.

I want to emphasize that the first *Desiderata* of the first great European Sanskritist was "*A translation of the Purāṇas.*"

But another Sanskritist, not so famous perhaps, was a pioneer in the study of the Purāṇa: Francis Wilford. He came to India in 1771 and died in Banaras in 1820. He was one of the first western Scholars to study traditional Geography and History of India and was dedicated to the Purāṇa Literature. He has not the glory of his companions, because he had not a high critical sense and accepted fantastic texts and erroneous stories; but he was one of the first Europeans in these new studies. His book *On the Chronology of the Hindus* was valuable in his time; he read the *Viṣṇu P.* and *Bhāgavata P.* as he knew Sanskrit. W. Jones published his conclusions in the *Asiatic Researches.* We can affirm that the great translators and specialists Wilson and Burnouf have used the notes and comments of Francis Wilford, one of the first scholars to study the Purāṇic Literature.

The first great scholar in the translation of the Purāṇa is, without any doubt, Horace-Haymann Wilson (1789-1860). Side by side with William Jones (1746-1794), Henry-Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837) and Charles Wilkins (1749-1836), Wilson is one of the first great pioneers of last century in Indology. Wilson was a Physician and dealt very often with scientific methods and exact Sciences. He had been instructed by Colebrooke and, above all, he made researches on methodic ways to penetrate in the unknown and new cultural Land of India. In 1813, he issued *Meghadūta,* in 1819 the first, and during a long time, the unique Sanskrit-English Dictionary, appeared. In the *Ariana antiqua* (1841), he is the first to study scientifically Hindu Archeology and Numismatic. He wrote an *Essay on the religious Sects of the Hindus* (1828-1832) which was very often plagiarized, as noted Sylvain Levi. In 1827, he wrote his *Select Specimen of the Theatre of the Hindus* (3 Vol.) which were much admired by all the romantic Poets and Writers of Europe. In 1833, Wilson was the first Professor of Sanskrit in Oxford ; and, in 1840 he published the first English translation of the *Viṣṇu P.* In 1850, he gave the translation of the first book of the *Ṛgveda.*

The second great scholar who devoted himself to the Purāṇa is Eugene Burnouf (1801-1852). He learned Sanskrit and, being 26 years old, he could teach this language ; in 1826, he published an *Essay on Pali* which permited an authentical knowledge of the Buddhist Scriptures. In 1833, he was Professor of Sanskrit in the College de France of Paris, and his interventions in the deciphering of the Zend and its relations with the Vedic Sanskrit were conclusive. In 1844, he wrote his *Introduction to the Story of Indian Buddhism* ; in 1840, he published the first books of the *Bhāgavata P.*, work ended by Hauvette Besnault and Roussel, in 1898.

The western Science has, then, in the middle of the XIX cent. the translations of the two most important Purāṇas: the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata.* It is very interesting to note that, from that time forward, some more translations were made both by the Western as well as the Indian scholars, as it is possible to see in the following list (surely incomplete) of the Translations of the Purāṇas :

BHĀGAVATA P.

—French Translation by Eugene Burnouf completed by E. L. Hauvette—Besnault and A. Roussel—Paris, 5 vol 1840-1898.

—English Translation by M. N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1896.

—Srimad Bhāgavatam translated by S. Subba Rao. 2 vol., Tirupati, 1929.

—The Bhāgavata. Kalyana Kalpataru. Special Number. Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 1952.

VIṢṆU P.

—English transl. by H. H. Wilson, 6 vol. 1840. re-print. in *Works*, London 1864-1877.

—French transl. in "Livres sacres de toutes les religions" of Migne. Paris, 1866.

—English transl. by Manmatha Nath, edited by M.N. Dutt. Calcutta 1896.

MATSYA P.

—English transl. anonymous. Allahabed. "Sacred Books of the Hindus", 1916.

—German analysis by A. Hohenberger. Leipzig. 1930.

—English analysis in "The Cult of Manes as depicted in the Matsya Purāṇa", in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, vol. VI, no. 1, Sept, 1956.

MĀRKAṆḌEYA P.

—English transl. M. N. Dutt. Calcutta. 1896.

—English transl. F. E. Pargiter. Calcutta, 1904 (Bibliotheca Indica).

—The *Saptaśatī* or *Chaṇḍī-Pāṭha* (or *Devīmāhātmya*), transl. into English by Cavali Veṅkata Rama Swami. Calcutta, 1823.

GARUḌA P.

—English transl. M. N. Dutt. Calcutta. 1908 (Wealth of India).

—A summary, the *Sāroddhāra,* was translated in German by E. Abegg., Berlin. 1921.

—This text has an English transl. by E. Wood and S. V. Subrahmanyam Allahabad. 1911 (Sacred Books of the Hindus).

AGNI P. (or VAHNI P.)

—English transl. M. N. Dutt. Calcutta. 1903.

BRAHMAVAIVARTA P.

—English transl. by Rajendra Nath Sen. Allahabad. 1920-1922 (Sacred Books of the Hindus).

SKANDA P.

—Italian analysis by M. Vallauri in the *Giornale Soc. As. Italiana,* 1934.

NĀRADA P.

—English analysis by Dr. R. C. Hazra in "Studies in the Upapuraṇās". Calcutta. 1958.

ŚAIVA P. (OR VĀYU P.)

—English analysis by U. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar. Madras. 1933.

DEVĪBHĀGAVATA UPAPURĀṆA

—English tranls. by Hari Prasanna Chatterjee. Allahabad. (Sacred Books of the Hindus).

I may be mistaken, but I do not know any complete Western translations of the PADMA, VĀMANA, KŪRMA, BRAHMĀṆḌA, BHAVISHYA, LIṄGA, VARĀHA and BRAHMA Purāṇa.

Of course, analysis and studies of the *Purāṇas* may be founded in many works and I do not want to give here a list of all the Reviews and Books where it is mentioned the *Purāṇa.* H. H. Wilson gave an analysis of the 18 Purāṇas in his translation of the VIṢṆU P. and in his *Works* (reprinted in the "Journal, As. Soc. Beng.", 1832 and "Journal, Royal As. Soc.", 1938). Dr.

R. C. Hazra analyses the UPAPURĀṆAS in his *Studies* (Calcutta, 1958) and there are many references in his *Purāṇic Records.* A. M. T. Jackson has written a very interesting study *Epic and Purāṇic Notes* in the Centenary Volume of the I.B.B.R.S. (1905). Every Book, now, on Hinduism, Sanskrit Literature or Indology, gives some lines on the Purāṇa, but there are not new and original studies in this field.

The Indologists have not good translations of the principal Purāṇic Texts in Western Languages except those mentioned above. I do not speak, of course, about the translations in Bengali, Hindi, Tamil, and other vernacular Languages of India; it would be interesting, in a next Issue of this Review, to have a good Bibliography of these Indian translations of the Purāṇic Texts. Moreover, nearly all these Western translations are now out of-print, rare and very difficult to find. A new Orientalist Centre or the Library of a new Asiatic Association cannot buy a Western translation of the Great Purāṇas. And I do not say anything of the intrinsical value of these translations in Occidental Languages. The best are old, and there is no critical text, no notes, no explainations, no commentaries in these venerable but ancient translations.

Why such neglect in this side of the literary studies ? For a long time, the Purāṇas were neglected by Wetsern Indology, because the searchers did not see the importance of these Texts in the Religion and the ancient Culture of India; they did not perceive that they were the "Veda of the laity" and moulded the Hindu society. To study the purāṇic texts is not only to make Research in Literature, but it is to find the originating Cause of the Ritual, Customs, and religious Life of Indian people. The knowledge of the *Garuḍa P.*, for instance, is, like the *Agni P.*, a real Encyclopaedia of Hinduism; its *Uttarakhaṇḍa* called the *Pretakalpa* (resumed in the *Sāroddhāra* of Naunidhirāma) contains all the teachings about Death and life-after-death with the *Karma* theories; it is indispensable for any comparative study with the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* or Tibetan *Bardo Thodol.* I am sorry to see that such a text is now out-of-print, scarce and not available anywhere, as it is the case of many books of the famous collections of the "Sacred Books of the Hindus" or the "Bibliotheca Indica".

Such Western translations are necessary; we have now numerous and good translations of the Bhagavad-Gītā, the Upanishad and the great epic poems; our students can read many texts of the *Smṛiti* and they have possibilities to study the *Śruti.* Nearly all the classical Works are translated but, till now, the Purāṇas are forgotten and neglected in European Indology. Why such an apathy ? Some say that they give only a bad picture of late sectarianism, that they have not yet their original form although retaining the same old titles. But I consider that it is just for these reasons that these texts are interesting; they are living testimony of the religious, social and ritual evolution of Hinduism. They are till now the main sources of inspiration of the complex religious life of India.

I allow me to hope that the Editorial Board of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin in its magnifical program of publishing critical editions of the Purāṇic texts, will study the possibilities of English translations of the principal Purāṇas, beginning with good and extensive summaries and analysis of the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas. I am sure that such possibilities offered to the western students would help very much to a better understanding of Indian Culture. The *Desiderata* of the pioneer of Indology, Sir William Jones, "A Translation of the Purāṇas" has not yet been duly fulfilled. May such "desiderata" be one of the glorious tasks of the *All-India Kashiraj Trust.*

THE LAND OF THE KAMBOJAS

BY

D. C. SIRCAR

[प्राचीनभारते उत्तरापथवर्त्तिजनपदेषु कम्बोजानां स्थितिः कुत्रासीदितिविषये विदुषां नास्त्यैकमत्यम्। अफगानिस्तानदेशस्य कस्मिंश्चिद्भागे कम्बोजजनपद आसीदित्यनेकेषां विदुषां मतम्, पामीर-प्रदेशस्य गाल्चाभाषाभाषिणां क्षेत्रमेव कम्बोज-जनपद आसीदित्यपि केचिन्मन्यन्ते। लेखकमहोदयेन पुनरस्मिंल्लेखे इमानि मतानि सम्यक् समीक्ष्य अफगानिस्तानदेशस्य दक्षिणभागे यवनैः सह कम्बोजानां निवास आसीदिति प्रतिपाद्यते।

बौद्धकाले प्रसिद्धानां षोडशानां जनपदानां मध्ये गन्धाराणां कम्बोजानां चाप्युल्लेखो वर्त्तते, यवनास्तु न तत्र प्रोक्ताः। परन्तु मौर्यकाले अशोकशिलालेखेषु क्वचित् केवलं यवनानां, क्वचिद् यवन-कम्बोजानां, क्वचिच्च यवनकम्बोजगन्धाराणां सहैव समुल्लेखो वर्त्तते। महाभारतेऽपि यवनकम्बोजगन्धाराणां सहैव उल्लेखः प्राप्यते। पुराणानां भुवनकोशवर्णने यवना गन्धाराश्च सहैव, कम्बोजाश्च पुनः पृथगुच्यन्ते।

उत्तरापथे मौर्यकाले यवनानां प्राधान्यमभवत्। अशोकस्य कंदहारशिलालेखो ग्रीकभाषायां ग्रीकलिप्यां च, एवम् आरमैकभाषायाम् आरमैकलिप्यां च लिखितो विद्यते। ग्रीकलिप्यां लिखितो ग्रीकभाषाऽभिलेखस्तु अशोकस्य यवनप्रजार्थमासीदिति स्पष्टमेव। परन्तु तेन सहैव वर्त्तमानः आरमैकलिप्याम् आरमैकभाषायां च लिखितोऽभिलेखः कम्बोजप्रजानामर्थ एव भवितुमर्हति, अशोकशिलालेखेषु यवनकम्बोजानां सहैवोक्तत्वात्।

महावंशाख्यबौद्धग्रन्थोल्लिखितं यवनानां 'अलसन्द' नगरम् अफगानिस्तानदेशस्य दक्षिणभागे वर्त्तमानम् आधुनिकं कंदहारनगरम् आसीदिति मन्यते। अतो यवनजनपदेन सह संलग्नः कम्बोज-जनपदोऽपि तत्रैव अफगानिस्तानदक्षिणभागे स्थित आसीदित्यनुमातुं शक्यते। कम्बोजाश्च मूलतः ईरानप्रदेशीया आसन्नित्यपि विदुषां मतम्।]

There has been considerable speculation on the location of the country of the well-known Kamboja people in the Uttarā-

patha division of ancient Bhāratavarṣa. Wilson located it in the Ghaznī region to the south of Kabul,[1] and N. L. Dey in 'Afghanistan, at least its northern part.'[2] Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV. 165-66) mentions the Kambojas along with the Tukhāras of the upper Oxus valley including Balkh and Badakhshan, and Stein identifies the Kamboja country with the eastern part of Afghanistan.[3] H. C. Raychaudhuri places this land in the areas extending from Rajauri to the south of Kashmir in the east to Kafiristan in Eastern Afghanistan in the west.[4] Among recent writers on the subject, Lassens' location of the Kambojas in the Ghalcha-speaking areas of the Pamirs has been accepted by many,[5] while C. A. Lewis has supported the location of the people in Kafiristan in the pages of this journal.[6]

The evidence in favour of the various suggestions lacks definiteness with the exception of the theory of Raychaudhuri who draws our attention to a passage in the *Mahābhārata* (VII. 4, 5), according to which Karṇa defeated the Kambojas at Rājapura. Raychaudhuri identifies this Rājapura with Rajauri mentioned as Ho-lo-she-pu-lo (Rājapura) by Hiuentsang.[7] Unfortunately the evidence loses its definite character if the expression *rājapura* in the *Mahābhārata* is understood in the sense of *rājadhānī* or the capital city of Kambojas. Even otherwise, the identification of Rājapura of the Mahābhārata with Rajauri cannot possibly be regarded as certain.

The most significant fact about the mention of the Kamboja people in the early literary and epigraphic records of India is that they are usually associated with the Yavanas and often with both, the Yavanas and Gandhāras. Among the Rock Edicts of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka (third century B. C.), Rock Edict V has Yavana-Kamboja-Gandhāra[1], while we have Yavana-Kamboja in Rock Edict XIII with the omission of Gandhāra[2]. The *Mahābhārata* (XII. 207, 43) agrees with Aśoka's Rock Edict V in mentioning Yauna (Yavana)-Kamboja-Gandhāra.

---

[1] *JASB*, 1838, pp. 252, 267.
[2] *Geog. Dict.*, s. v.
[3] *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 136, notes.
[4] *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 1938, pp. 125 ff.
[5] Cf. above, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 172 ; see also Jayachandra, *Bhārata bhūmi aur uske Nivāsī*, Saṁvat 1987, pp. 297 ff; Motichandra *Geog. Econ. Stud*, 1945, pp. 32 ff ; V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, 1953, pp. 48-49 ; etc.
[6] *Purāṇa*, Vol. iv, No. 1, pp. 133 f.
[7] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 284.

The Assalāyanasutta of the Buddhist canonical work *Majjhimanikāya* (43. 1. 3) not only speaks of Yavana-Kamboja but also says that the same social system prevailed in the western countries including the lands of the Yavanas and Kambojas. It is stated that in the areas in question, instead of the *catur-varṇa*, there were only two social grades, viz. the nobleman and the serf[3]. A similar information is supplied by Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka which says, "There is no country except the land of the Yavanas where these classes do not exist, viz. the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas[4]. According to the *Harivaṁśa* (I. 14. 16) and a number of the Purāṇas,[5] another custom peculiar to the Yavanas and Kambojas was that both had shaven heads.

The above facts suggest that the Kambojas were intimately associated with the Yavanas and the Gandhāras, particularly with the former, and it may be supposed that all three of them lived in contiguous areas of Uttarāpatha in the age of the Mauryas. But the Aśokan records speak sometimes of the Yavanas alone, sometimes of the Yavanas in the company of the Kambojas or of the Kambojas and the Gandhāras. There is no doubt that the inscriptions give prominence to the Yavanas who were apparently the most important people of the north-western province of the Maurya empire. But whether the absence sometimes of Gandhāras and sometimes of both the Gandhāras and Kambojas from the references to the Yavanas

---

1. Hultzsch, CII. Vol. I, pp. 191-92.
2. Ibid, p. 211.
3. Yona-Kambojesu Aññesu ca paccantimesu janapadesu dv=eva vaṇṇā Ayyo c=eva Dāso ca/Ayyo hutvā Dāso hoti Dāso hutvā Ayyo hot=iti.
4. Hultzsch, op. cit. P. 209.
5. See, e. g. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 140; etc.

suggests that the Kamboja and Gandhāra lands were at times broadly included in the Yavana country cannot be determined from the above Aśokan epigraphs. Of course in the age of the Indo-Greeks, as we know from the *Milindapañho*, the Yavana country included Alasanda (usually located near Kabul) and Śākala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab)[1]. Another fact to be remembered in this connection is that, before the rise of the Yavanas to prominence in Uttarāpatha, the most important peoples of that region were the Gandhāras and the Kambojas. This is indicated by the list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas flourishing in the age of the Buddha as enumerated in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (VII. 5.3 and 5), which mentions the Gandhāras and Kambojas but omits the Yavanas.

The Aṅkuravatthu section of the Petavatthu (verses 257-58) suggests that there was a direct caravan route between Dvārakā (Dvāravatī) in Kathiawar and the country of the Kambojas[2]. There is also no doubt that the Kamboja capital was directly connected with the capital of Gandhāra and of some other Mahājanapadas by an easy route. Now, of the three important peoples living in Uttarāpatha during the Maurya age, viz. the Yavanas, Kambojas and Gandhāras, the third is definitely known to have inhabited the modern Rawalpindi-Peshawar region of West Pakistan, since two of the most important Gandharan cities of the early period were Takṣaśilā in the Rawalpindi District and Puṣkarāvatī or Puṣkalāvatī in the Peshawar District.[3] This consideration seems to go against the location of the Kamboja country in the Pamirs. Another important fact, generally forgotten, is that the territory called Bactria or Bactriana by the Greeks and Bāhlīka by the Indians formed no part of the Maurya empire. This land, bounded by the Hindu Kush in the south and east and by the Oxus in the north-east and having its headquarters at the site of modern Balkh in Northern Afghanistan, was a province of the Seleucid empire till the middle of the third century B. C., when it became an independent kingdom under Diodotus I. This fact suggests that the Pamirs lying beyond the Hindu Kush also lay outside the empire of Aśoka. It is therefore impossible to believe that Aśoka's Kamboja subjects lived in the Pamirs. We have now also to think of the light thrown on the problem by the recently discovered Kandahar inscription of Aśoka.

---

[1] Cf. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v.

[2] *Yassa atthāya gacchāma Kambojaṁ dhana-hārakā |*

* * *

Yānaṁ āropayitvāna khippaṁ gacchāma Dvārakaṁ ||

[3] *Gandhāra-viṣaye siddhe tayoḥ puryau mahātmanaḥ |*
Takṣasya dikṣu vikhyātā ramyā takṣaśīlā purī |
Puṣkarasy=āpi vīrasya vikhyātā puṣkarāvatī || (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 189-90). See also *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII. 114. 11 ; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.* pp. 50 ff., pp. 124-25. Hiuen-tsang speaks of Puruṣapura (Peshawar) as the capital of Gandhāra (Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99), while Al-Bīrūnī mentions Vaihand (Udabhāṇḍa or Und) as its capital (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Part I, p. 259).

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* (XXIX, 40), the chief city of the Yavana country was Alasanda or Alasaudā which has been identified with Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great near Kabul.[1] According to the *Milindapañho*[2], the Dvīpa or Dwab of Alasanda was two hundred *Yojanas* from Śākala, capital of the Yavana king Milinda (i. e. the Indo-Greek king Menander who flourished about the close of the second century B. C.), the distance between Śākala and Kashmir being only twelve Yojanas. The Kandahar Edict[3] of Aśoka has two versions. one of which is written in the Greek language and alphabet. There is no doubt that this part of the Edict was meant for Aśoka's Yavana or Greek subjects who lived in Afghanistan, particularly in the Kandahar region. Thus the concentration of the Greek population in the Maurya empire was in the said area. Since the name of Kandahar is derived from the Greek name Alexandria ('Alexandria among the Arachosians' founded by Alexander), it is possible to think that Alasanda of the *Mahāvaṁsa* is identical with Kandahar. The Dwab of Alasanda may therefore be the land between the Helmund and Tarnak rivers in Southern Afghanistan.

---

[1] Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 194.
[2] Ed. Trenckner, pp. 82-83.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXXIII, pp. 1 ff.

The other version of the Kandahar Edict is written in the Aramaic language and script which were popular with the Achæmenian administration. Aramaic was also introduced in the north-western areas of the Indian sub-continent when they were conquered by Darius I about the close of the sixth century B. C., and it is well-known that the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet used in the Aśokan Edicts in the Peshawar and Hazara Districts which are written in the Indian Prakrit language is an Indian modification of the Aramaic script.

But who are the people for whom the Aramaic version of Aśoka's Kandahar Edict was intended? Apparently they were Iranians living in the Maurya empire, and considering the close association of the Yavanas and Kambojas in Aśokan epigraphs, there can be no doubt that it was the Kambojas for whom the Aramaic version of the Kandahar Edict was meant. That the Kambojas were of Iranian extraction was long ago suggested.[1] They were settled in the Afghanistan region in Uttarāpatha. Their numbers were occasionally swelled by new migrants from Iran, especially during the age of the Achæmenians. Their main concentration was specially in Southern Afghanistan, where they appear to have lived side by side with the Yavanas. Of course, this does not prove that some of the Kambojas did not live elsewhere in the Maurya empire even during the reign of Aśoka or that some of them did not migrate to other areas at later dates.

We have seen how originally the Gandhāras and Kambojas were the most important peoples in Uttarāpatha and how, after Alexander's conquest, the Yavanas became more prominent in that area. Another interesting fact is that, with the advent of the Śakas on the scene, on the decline of the Indo-Greeks, they were often more closely associated with the Yavanas, and the joint mention of Śaka-Yavana became popular.[2] The culture of the Gandhāras and Kambojas appears to have been modified due to their contact with the Yavanas even in the Maurya age, though later it underwent further modification as a result of the occupation of Uttarāpatha successively by the Śakas, Parthians and Kuśāṇas. We also see that, in the later lists of the peoples of Uttarāpatha, such as those found in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and the Bhuvanakośa section of the Purāṇas, the Yavanas, Kambojas and Gandhāras are not usually mentioned in the same breath as in some of the older records, though two of them are sometimes placed side by side. Thus, while the *Manusmṛti* (X, 43) omits the Gandhāras and has the Kambojas, Yavanas and Śakas in close proximity, the Bhuvanakośa puts the Yavanas by the side of the Gandhāras, and the Kambojas elsewhere.[1]

---

[1] Cf. JRAS, 1912, pp. 255-57; *Ling. Surv. Ind*. Vol. X, pp. 456-57.

[2] See Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II. 4. 10; *Milinda-Pañho*, p. 327; also Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava in a Nasik inscription (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 197).

It appears that the location of the Kamboja country in the Pamirs has been somewhat influenced by Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 60ff.) which describes how Raghu left the land of the Pārasīkas or Sassanians in the western region and subjugated the countries in the northern areas of Bhāratavarṣa. In this region, Raghu first defeated the Hūṇas on the banks of the Vaṁkṣu (Oxus), i. e. in the Bālhīka country or Bactria, next subdued the Kambojas and then ascended the Himalayas. In the Himalayas, he met the Kirātas (probably in Nepal), defeated the Utsavasaṅketas and other hill tribes, accepted the services and presents of the Himalayan peoples like the Kinnaras, and finally reached the kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa in the valley of the Lauhitya or Brahma-putra. Unfortunately the evidence is too vague for the exact location of the Kambojas in the Pamirs. It must also be admitted that the reference here is not to the age of the Mauryas whose empire, moreover, did not include the Pamirs.

---

[1] Cf. my *stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 24. According to legends envisaging ethnic relations between the Yavanas and Gandhāras, the Yavana, Gandhāra and Mleccha people were descendants respectively of Yayāti's sons Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu (*Matsya Purāṇa*, 34. 30; 48. 6ff.). Gandhāra after whom the Gandhāra-viṣaya was named, is represented as the great-grandson of Druhyu who is sometimes also said to have been the progenitor of the Bhojas.

SAVITRĪ AND THE BANYAN

BY

SADASHIV A. DANGE

[सावित्र्युपाख्याने सावित्र्या सह वटस्यापि निर्देशः स्कन्दपुराणे व्रतार्ककथायां च समुपलभ्यते । महाभारतीये सावित्र्युपाख्याने तु वटस्य निर्देशो न वर्त्तते । महाभारतकालादुत्तरं सावित्रीकथायां वटस्य प्रवेशः कदा कथं च बभूव सावित्र्याश्च कः प्रतीकार्थोऽत्र व्यज्यते इत्यत्र निवन्धे विचारितम् ।

सावित्रीति सवितुरुत्पादिका शक्तिः, सत्यवांश्च सवितैव । सावित्रीगायत्र्योरपि सर्वत्राभेदः प्रतिपाद्यते । वैदिकसाहित्ये गायत्र्या सोमाहरणं वर्णितम् । सावित्र्यपि ब्रह्मचारिणे द्विजत्वं (नूतनजीवनत्वं) प्रापयत्युपनयनकाले । द्विजत्व (अमृतत्व) प्रापणात्पूर्वं मृत्युरवश्यं भाव्यः । उपनयनसंस्कारे आचार्य एव मृत्युरूपो भवति । स ब्रह्मचारिणं पूर्वं मृत्यवे प्रदायैव पश्चात् तस्मै सावित्रीद्वारा द्विजत्वं (पुनर्जीवनत्वं) प्रापयति । सावित्र्युपाख्यानेऽपि सत्यवते सावित्रीद्वारा पुनर्जीवनस्य प्रापणं तत्पूर्वं च तस्य मृत्युश्च वर्णितः । सत्यवते शतं पुत्रा अपि सावित्र्या प्रदत्ताः । एवं नूतनजीवनप्रदायकत्वात् पुत्रप्रदायकत्वाच्च सावित्री सौभाग्यवतीनां पूजार्हा संजाता । वटस्यापि अमृतेन संबन्धः संतानप्रदायकत्वं च प्रसिद्धमासीत् । अतः सावित्रीव्रते वटपूजापि प्रचलिता । नागजातिषु नागपूजया सह वटवृक्षपूजा तु प्रागेव प्रचलिता आसीत् । कालक्रमेण सावित्र्युपाख्याने वटोऽपि प्रवेशमलभत । लोकप्रचलितायां सावित्रीकथायां च नागस्यापि प्रवेशो बभूव, तत्र वटवृक्षे उपविष्टः सत्यवान् सर्पेण दष्टो मृतश्चेति प्रसिद्धिः ।]

Sāvitrī and the Banyan are associated in the famous story of Satyavān-Sāvitrī. But, whereas the tale of Sāvitrī as given in the Mb.[1] is silent about the Banyan, the Vratārka-kathā and the Skanda Purāṇa have the Banyan play an important part in the tale. It will be good to recall in short the tale of Sāvitrī and Satyavān as it occurs in the Mb. and then we shall see exactly at which point the Banyan comes in the later period. We shall thence go to see the implication of the Sāvitrī and also the 'Banyan.'

---

[1] Mb. = Mahābhārata.

According to the Mb.[1] in the Madradeśa there was a king named Aśvapati. He had no issue. He used to mutter the holy Gāyatrī a lac of times with oblations offered to the fire daily and give alms thereafter. After eighteen years the goddess Sāvitrī was pleased and, coming from the sacrificial altar, she told the king to ask for a boon. The son-less king asked for a son; but Sāvitrī said she would bless him with a daughter and that he should not argue with her any more. In the course of time a beautiful daughter was born to him. As she was given by the holy Sāvitrī, the king named her 'Sāvitrī'. When she stepped into youth the king said to her that she should see a husband for herself as it was not quite possible for him to find any suitable husband for her. He gave with her his best ministers and she set on the errand seated on a golden chariot. Many days rolled and she came back with determination to marry Satyavān. On her arrival she saw her father in conversation with the sage Nārada. She told her father about her choice, and also that Satyavān was the son of Dyumatsena, the deposed blind king of the Śālva country who was living with his family in the forest. On hearing her account, Nārada expressed regret at her choice; for he said that Satyavān was to die before the end of one year thence! But Sāvitrī remained firm and the marriage took place. Sāvitrī now went to the forest to live with her *in-laws*. She began serving them all with zeal; and, as days went by, that fatal day arose—the day that was to see the death of Satyavān. Sāvitrī asked permission of her parents-in law and went with Satyavān who, as usual, went to the forest to collect wood. In the forest when Satyavān was cutting wood, he began to perspire and got a severe head-ache. He told of his agony to his beloved wife who, knowing the cause of his trouble, took his head on her lap and sat on the ground. In a very short time Yama came along and taking the life of Satyavān began to depart. Sāvitrī kept the body of her husband on the ground and followed him. There was an argument between Yama and Sāvitrī and ultimately Yama released Satyavān from his fetters and he sprang to life. His father also got back his lost eyes and the Kingdom.

---

[1] Cf. III (i. c. Vana-parvan)—293-297.

There is no mention here at all about the banyan tree. In the version of the Skanda Purāṇa we have the tale similar in all its details to the Mb. tale; but whereas in the Mb. version we have Satyavān cutting wood while Sāvitrī sits nearby, in the tale with the Skanda-Purāṇa we have a clear mention of the banyan tree. Satyavān cuts the wood and hangs it on the 'Vaṭa'-tree and Sāvitrī also takes her seat near the trunk of the banyan[1]. During the time Sāvitrī has a talk with Yama, Satyavān is under the banyan tree; and after her talk also Sāvitrī, winning the boons from Yama, again comes under the banyan tree to see her husband gradually gaining life.

The tale as such is not altered; but the part of the tale relating to the gain of Satyavān's life has under-gone a change from the original Mb. Looking at the tale proper, it seems quite clear that the main purpose of it seems to glorify Sāvitrī who is the solar energy and the very principle of procreation as can be understood from the word itself which could be derived from the root *√Sū—to procreate or to give birth to.* This Sāvitrī is called by the name of '*Brahma-Gāyatrī*,'[2]; and in quite a number of places Sāvitrī is identified or associated with Gāyatrī. In the context of the rite of Upanayana it is clearly mentioned that the 'brahmacārī should be taught the '*Gāyatrī-Sāvitrī*'.[3] The metre of the Sāvitrī mantra that is taught to the initiate is the Gāyatrī. In the Skanda Purāṇa, in another context, we have Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī as rivals. Brahmadeva is cursed by Sāvitrī because he performs sacrifice taking Gāyatrī as his wife.[4] This shows that Gāyatrī and *Sāvitrī*

---

1. Cf. Skanda P.—VII-166.

   काष्ठभारं क्षणात्कृत्वा वटशाखावलम्बनम् ।
   वटवृक्षस्य सा साध्वी उपविष्टा महासती ॥—78

   The Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa-Khaṇḍa 2. has Satyavān falling from the tree and dying.

   The Devī-Bhāgavata also has the tale but not with much difference.
2. Cf. Vratārka-P. 61.
3. Cf. Śatapatha Br. XI-5-4-13.
4. Skanda P. VI—(Nāgarakhaṇḍa)—191 ; also 278.

are not two, but only that one principle is split into two. We have noted how Sāvitrī, by the very name, could be the *procreator of life*, being the energy of the Sun that is personified in our present tale. Looking from another angle also we can well understand how Sāvitrī is the protector from Yama–the Death and the bestower of life. We have seen how Gāyatrī and Sāvitrī are identified. Now Gāyatrī is the main character in the episode of the *'Capture of Soma'* as it is adapted in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Soma—the most important of the materials for sacrifice—was in the heaven, and it was Gāyatrī and the other metres ('Chandāṁsi') that brought it.[1] Soma is said to be the very life-sap and is always said to be the drink of immortality—the very *'amṛta'*. The *'caru'* prescribed for gaining life is called after the name *'Soma'*—(*'Saumya'*).[2] Thus Gāyatrī, the metre of the holy 'Sāvitrī' mantra, is associated with the capture of 'Soma' (Immortality) from the heaven. There is a continuous link in the ideas that speak of the metres giving immortality ; or, to put it more precisely, the lack of death : the metres are said to have saved the life of Indra from darkness and Death.[3] The gods, after killing the 'asuras', are said to be afraid of Death. They saw these metres and saved themselves.[4] The gods went to heaven due to the metres.[5] The metres are, thus, constantly said to be the givers of heaven and the bestowers of immortality by cutting the fetters of Death. They are said to be the very heavenly world.[6] Metres are called 'Chandāṁsi' *because* they 'cover' (from √*chad*) one from Death and evil.[7] It is the peculiar importance of the *metres* and the *mantras* in the ritual of sacrifice that has given them outstanding positions

---

1. Cf. Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā. XXXIII, 3 ; Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā. I I, 2-7, Śatapatha Br. III, 2-4-1, ff.
2. Jaiminīya Br. I, 167 ; on this point see 'Vedic Mythology' by Macdonell, P. 108 ; Also Taittirīya Saṁhitā, I, 7-9 ; I-8-21 ; Maitrāyaṇī Saṁ. II, 3-8 ; III, 17-7 ; Vājasaneyī Saṁ., X, 31-32 ; XIX, 1-6. etc. etc. The whole of the Ṛgvedic episode of *'Somāharaṇa'* came into the epics, as 'Bringing of *Nectar*'.
3. Cf. Gopatha Br. (Uttarārdha) V, 1, (Edi. Gaastra).
4. Maitrāyaṇī Saṁ., III, 5-7 ; Also Jaiminīya Br. I, 99.
5. Ibid. III, 2-3 ; IV, 7-5.
6. Cf. Jaiminīya Br. II, 381.
7. Cf. Ibid—'छादयन्त्येव एनं छन्दांसि मृत्योः पाप्मना य एवं वेद'

in tales. And it is no wonder that the best of the metres—the Gāyatrī—came to be the chief actor in the Vedic tale of *Somāharaṇa* as it is developed in the Brāhmaṇas, and the later Saṁhitās. Gāyatrī-Sāvitrī, as is well-known, plays an important part in the 'Upanayan' rite, and we have hinted at this fact. We have seen how Gāyatrī is said to bring immortality—the sap of life—the Soma. Now let us see what her prototype—the Sāvitrī—does in the ceremony of Initiation. The Initiation ceremony bestows '*dvijatva*' on the initiate i. e. he gets the second birth. This *second birth* presupposes Death and really the initiate has to undergo a symbolic death. The preceptor (Ācārya) is himself the Death.[1] The Ācārya is, again, said to offer the initiate to Death.[2] After, thus, getting killed the initiate again comes to life by begging.[3] He gains new life by the help of '*Sāvitrī*'[4]—or the *Sāvitrī* in the Gāyatrī metre. The Sāvitrī is said to be the mother of the initiate,[5] that is born of her. Thus *Gāyatrī-Sāvitrī* has two definite aspects : as—

i. The protector from Death.

ii. The Giver of immortal life by causing Re-birth.

That is why life is said to depend upon Gāyatrī.[6] If one does not know how to mutter Gāyatrī (i. e. Sāvitrī-mantra) he will lose life and die ; his progeny will be cut.[7] Sāvitrī with this two-fold nature of hers appears as the main figure in the tale of '*Satyavān and Sāvitrī*.' Thus it is that by muttering the holy *Gāyatrī* a lack of times, the king Aśvapati is said to have seen goddess Sāvitrī who offered him a daughter after her own prowess. No wonder this daughter (who is none else than the personified *Sāvitrī-Gāyatrī* herself) vanquishes Yama—the very Death—and brings her husband Satyavān back to life: The principle of *Death prior to rebirth and immortality* that we find in the present ceremony of 'Upanayana' and the sacrificial ritual is also present in this tale. The motif being the same, it is fashioned in a new form of a tale where 'Sāvitrī' shifts her position as *mother of the initiate* as we saw of her in the 'Upanayana' and gets the position of the wife. Satyavān dying and again coming to life, is the same old sacrificer, on whom the Gāyatrī bestows immortality by bringing 'Soma,' or the initiate in the Upanayana who gets a new birth after being symbolically killed by the preceptor who is the very Death.[1] It is the principle of procreation imbibed in the word 'Sāvitrī' that gives Satyavān hundred sons. It is in this new personification that Sāvitrī—the solar energy or the principle of immortality—brought her husband back to life and became a token of worship for married woman. This veneration for Sāvitrī as the powerful wife of her husband was at least as old as the Rāmāyaṇa.[2] The *Sāvitrī-Vrata*—where-in the married ladies worship the banyan tree is a fine combination of this epic tale Sāvitrī imbibing the ancient Vedic principle of immortality and the popular faith in tree-worship.

---

[1] Cf. Atharva Veda, II, 5-14.

[2] Cf. Chāndogya Br. I, 6-21 ; and Guṇaviṣṇu's comment thereon. Also Śatapatha Br. XI, 5-4-3.

[3] Cf. Gopatha Br. II. 3.

[4] Śatapatha Br. XI. 15-4-12.

[5] Manu Smṛti II. 170.

[6] Jaiminīya Br. I. 172— 'प्राणो वै गायत्रम्'; २६२–'आयुर्वै गायत्रम्'

[7] Cf. Jaiminīya Br. I. 103.
'यदि वा गायत्री न शक्नोति निगातुं प्रेमायुक आत्मना भवति मृता गर्भा जायन्ते'
also Ibid-110 ; 132 ; 268 ,etc. etc.

The Banyan tree gets a special worship in this light on the full moon day in the month of Jyeṣṭha. The ladies go to the

[1] The symbolic death of the sacrificer in the sacrificial ritual is brought about by the pressing of Soma shoots which are said to die. He is again brought to life when the Soma shoots are swelled in the 'Vasativarī' waters; Cf. Jaiminīya Br. I. 82; Gopatha Br. (uttar III. 17) etc. etc. see also Eggeling in SBE Vol. XXVII. P. 379.

It is interesting to see how the same principle of the Re-birth after death is imbibed in another famous tale that of Kaca and Devayānī, which expresses the principle in the rite of Upanayana. In our present tale the next important Saṃskāra and the duty of the wife is chosen as the base of the same motif. A detailed study of this motif in the legend of Kaca has been presented by me in my thesis—"Legends in the Mahābhārata."

[2] Rāmāyaṇa II-30-6 where Sītā says to Rāma that she would follow him as did Sāvitrī her husband Satyavān.

tree and with the brahmin chanting the various mantras the tree is worshipped. Threads of silk and cotton are tied round the tree. We have seen how the banyan tree was not a part of the tale as it occured in the Mb. It is only the Purāṇa version of the tale that brings in the tree. It is clear that the tale and the ritual of the banyan-worship were quite different originally. At a later period the tale was used in the ritual, the next step being the banyan forming an integral part of the tale. Though the banyan tree is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda[1] as being worshipped, it seems to have been known in the Vedic time.[1a] But, in this particular context of the worship given to it by the married ladies for bestowing progeny and long life to their husbands, it is rarely mentioned in the Vedic literature. A glimpse to this effect we have in the Rāmāyaṇa. When Rāma with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā starts further from the hermitage of Bhāradvāja, the latter tells them the way to the Citrakūṭa. He specifically mentions to them a banyan tree by name 'Shyāma' which Sītā should bow down to.[2] The three go along the path indicated by the sage and Sītā sees the banyan tree and bows down to it. The words she utters are—

"I bow down to thee, O great tree, may my husband fulfil his vow". Then she goes round the tree[3]. But here also no definite indication of progeny or the immortality to the husband can be seen. That the tree was very popular and traditionally revered, being auspicious is beyond doubt. It has a specific mention in the exploit of Garuḍa in bringing nectar[4]. Garuḍa is said to have killed the Niṣādas by the branch of this tree[5]. The Nāgas as magicians and Saṅghamitrā are said to contest for obtaining the branch of this tree.[6] The idea of giving progeny attached to this tree can be seen from the fact that the *Vālakhilyas* (the thumb-kins-representatives of procreation) are said to be hanging down from a branch of the tree[1]. In later literature references to this tree being worshipped by ladies, along with its sister tree the Peepal for progeny, are often to be seen. Generally snake-worship is associated with these two trees; and it is a common sight to see snakes carved in stone kept under these trees. These stone-snakes generally face the sun[2].

---

[1] See *Vedic Index.* under Nyagrodha. [1a] Cf. Atharva. V. IV-37-4 this tree as the haunt of apsarasas.

[2] Cf. Rāmāyaṇa II-55-6.

[3] Idid-II-55-24 ff.

[4] Cf. Mb. (BORI) I-25 ff.

[5] Cf. Rāmāyaṇa. III-35-33.

[6] Cf. J. Ph. Vogel-'Indian Serpent Lore'-(London, 1926).

It is difficult to say exactly whether the worship of this tree for this purpose was not a gift of the non-Aryans. But this tree appears very prominently in some very famous tales about the serpents. We have already referred to how Garuḍa is associated with the branch of this tree on his way to bring nectar; and it is well-known that Garuḍa was to bring nectar to redeem his mother, Vinatā, from the slavery of her co-wife, Kadrū, the mother of the nāgas[3]. Vinatā herself has another name, viz. *Śuṅgī* which means the banyan tree,[4] thus posing a rivalry between the serpents and this tree. Thus, this peculiar tale of the wager of Kadrū and Vinatā has the tree in a very important position.[5] We have noticed the association of this tree, with the Nāgas when we referred to Saṅghamitrā carrying the branch of this tree to obtain which the Nāga magicians were performing penance. The spirit of the banyan tree is called the nāga-rājā and his soldiers are the nāgas.[6] Thus it seems that this tree in its most respectful form, was popular with the people called nāgas,[7]

[1] Mb. I-31-8 (Citraśālā Press); Rāmāyaṇa-III-35-30: For Vālakhilyas. see article of Barnett– 'Study in Indo-European Psychology–JRAS–1929 on page 748.

[2] Cf. Hastings—'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics'—Vol. ii-P. 415.

[3] Cf. Mb. 1-15 (BORI) ff; Padma P. V-44; Skanda P. III-33 etc. etc.

[4] Cf. 'Suparṇādhyāya'–IV-8-2; IX-17-4 & 5 (Ed. according to Jarl Charpentier Uppsala-1920) though the name 'Śuṅgī' does not appear in the Mb. and the Purāṇas.

[5] For the nature of Kadrū and Vinatā and the peculiar tribal nature of the tale based on phratry-division see my article 'Kadrū, Vinatā and the wager' in 'Purāṇa' (Varanasi) Vol. III–2

[6] Hastings–' Encl. of Rel. and Ethics. Vol. ii-P. 417.

[7] Oldham believes that the original people were *called* nāgas, because they worshipped the serpent–(See Serpent worship in India. J.R.A.S.' ; also-the Sun and the serpent'–(London, 1905), P. 47. 1891,–See-also

who worshipped it and also the serpent in all devotion. This appears to be probable when we look to another popular version of the Sāvitrī-tale, according to which Satyavān is said to have died by serpent-bite while on the banyan tree and was brought back to life.[1] This tree being thus the tree of life and progeny has naturally found a fit place in the tale of Sāvitrī, the main point in which is the re-gaining of life.

Slater 'Dravidian Element in Indian culture' (London-1924) P. 56. for the word '*nāga*' replacing the word '*asura*'). V. Fausboll includes 'nāgas' under 'asura'–see 'Indian Mythology, According to the Mahābhārata'. (London-1903). P. 1

[1] The picture-papers worshipped at the time of this 'Vrata' show a host of banyan trees with Satyavān on a branch and a cobra nearby. Zimmer ('Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization', New York, 1947) P. 72 gives a plate of the *tree goddess* on Elephant; the leaves of this tree appear to be like the banyan tree. The elephant and the serpent are interchangeable for both are called 'nāga'. On this point see Hieun Tsin ,'s account of the Rāmagrām 'Stūpa', quoted by Vogel in his 'Indian serpent Lore'–P. 127 (London, 1926) where in one version we have *serpents* (nāgas) and in another *elephants* (nāgas).

देवी-माहात्म्यम्—उपोद्घातः❀

श्रीवासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल

[An annotated edition of the Devī-Māhātmya with English translation was prepared by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, and published by the Kashiraj Trust in April last. The text of this edition is mainly based on an old and illustrated palm-leaf Nepali manuscript (of about 13th century A. D.), deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay. The edition prepared by the Italian scholar Sri Ladovicus Poley with Latin translation and annotations and published in Berlin in 1831 has also been consulted for the text. Below is given a free Sanskrit-translation of the preface to this edition of the Devī-Māhātmya.

The Devī-Māhātmya forms part of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Chs. 81-93), and is the work of a rare genius endowed with the highest poetic inspiration and overflowing devotion to the Goddess. The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa is a composite work finalised by bringing together five independent floating episodes. The Devī-Māhātmya also had been an altogether independent work, but later on it was incorporated and adjusted in the present text of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa. There are several cultural and iconographic considerations emerging from a close study of the Devī-Māhātmya, which

---

❀ दुर्गासप्तशतीत्यपरनाम्नो देवीमाहात्म्यस्य आंग्लभाषान्तर-व्याख्या–टिप्पण्यादिसंवलितमेकं नवीनं संस्करणं डा० वासुदेवशरणअग्रवालमहोदयैः काशिराजन्यासाय सम्पादितम्। तच्च काशिराजन्यासेन प्रकाशितम्। अस्य संस्करणस्य Preface (उपोद्घात) इत्यंशस्य संस्कृते भावानुवादोऽत्र प्रकाश्यते।

(अनु०—आनन्दस्वरूप गुप्त)

prove it to be a work of the Gupta age. For example, the motif of the rain of gold referred to in the Devī-Māhātmya was very prominent in the literature of the Gupta period. There are also some other indications in the Devī-Māhātmya, such as mention of the *nāgahāra*, *kiñjalkinī*, different *vāhanas* and weapons of the seven Mātṛkās, etc., which definitely fix the chronology of this work in the post-Kushāṇa period. Moreover, the spirit of religious toleration and synthesis so prominently displayed in the Devī-Māhātmya was also the result of the great Bhāgavata movement of the Gupta period which is rightly called the Golden Age of the cultural and political history of India,

Dr. Agrawala has explained the symbolism and the esoteric meanings underlying the picturesque description of the exploits of the Great Goddess in the Devī-Māhātmya.]

स्वतन्त्ररूपेणोपलभ्यमानो देवीमाहात्म्यं नाम ग्रन्थो मूलतो मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य ८१-९३ अध्यायेषु वर्त्तते । अयं ग्रन्थः केनचिद् असाधारणप्रतिभासम्पन्नेन भक्त्या प्लावितान्तःकरणवता महाकविनोपनिबद्धमासीदिति प्रतिभाति । देवीति काचिद् परा दिव्या शक्तिः । अखिलसृष्ट्याश्च जननीत्वात् "सैव माता" इत्यभिधीयते । भारतीयधर्मपरम्परासु परमा दिव्यसत्तेयं पुमानिति स्त्रीति च रूपद्वयेन कल्प्यते ('त्वं स्त्री त्वं पुमान्') । अतः एकैव सा दिव्यसत्ता पितृरूपेण मातृरूपेण च वर्त्तमाना विश्वं सृजति । सैव परमात्मतत्त्वम् । तस्यैव परमात्मतत्त्वस्य महादेवो महादेवी चेति द्वे रूपे ।

तदेव परमात्मतत्त्वं मूलतः स्वाव्याकृतरूपेण वर्तमानमपि सत् सर्वेष्वेव सृष्टि-स्तरेषु व्याकृतं विद्यते । देवीमाहात्म्यग्रन्थे तस्यैव दिव्यस्रष्टुः शक्त्या यादृशं माहात्म्यवर्णनमुपलभ्यते न तद् ऋग्वेदीयं वागाम्भृणीसूक्तं विहाय अन्यत्र प्राप्यते । वागाम्भृणीसूक्तेन तु सह देवीमाहात्म्यस्य अन्तःसम्बन्धः स्पष्टतया प्रतीयते । उभयत्रैव देवीविषयकस्य भावोद्रेकस्य साम्यं वर्तते ।

अस्य देवीमाहात्म्यग्रन्थस्य रचयितुर्नाम तिरोहितं वर्तते। तथापि प्रसिद्धमहापुराणस्याङ्गत्वेन वर्तमानोऽयं ग्रन्थो न केवलं समग्रभारतराष्ट्रस्य, अपि तु सर्वेषामेव देशानां सम्पत्तिरस्ति। सर्वैः समादृतोऽयं ग्रन्थः भक्तिविषये तथैव गौरवमावहति, यथाऽध्यात्मविषये श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतानामको ग्रन्थः।

१८०८ खीष्टाब्दे फ्रान्ज बॉप (Fronz Bopp)–नामकः पाश्चात्यो विद्वान् तुलनात्मकव्याकरणविषयकग्रन्थस्य निर्माणेन यूरोपमहादेशे संस्कृतस्य सर्वप्रथमं प्रवेशं प्रचारं चाकारयत्। ततः, स्वल्पेनैव कालेन १८३१ खीष्टाब्दे इटलीदेशीयो लैंडोविकसपोले (Ladovicus Poley)–नामा विद्वान् देवीमाहात्म्यस्य लैटिनभाषान्तरयुक्तं विस्तृतटिप्पणीभिश्च समन्वितमेकं संस्करणं सम्पादितवान्, यच्च बर्लिन-नगरे मुद्रितं प्रकाशितं चासीत् (प्रस्तावना—पृष्ठ १-१३; ग्रन्थभागः—पृ० १-६१; लैटिनभाषान्तरम्—पृ० ६३-१०१; टिप्पणी—पृ० १०५-१२७; शब्दानुक्रमणी—पृ० १२८-१३२)।

अस्मिन् संस्करणे स कलिकातानगरे १८१३ खीष्टाब्दे मुद्रितं देवीमाहात्म्यग्रन्थमपि निर्दिशति। इदं कलिकातासंस्करणं च B., C. इति निर्दिष्टौ द्वौ कोशौ (Mss.) च पोले महाशयः स्वसंस्करणनिर्माणे व्यनुयुङ्क्त।

इदानीम् आंग्लभाषान्तरेण अध्यात्मपरकव्याख्यादिभिश्च युक्तमिदं प्रस्तुतं संस्करणं काशिराजन्यासेन प्रकाशितम्। देवीमाहात्म्यस्यापरम् आंग्लभाषान्तरं मन्मथनाथदत्तमहोदयेन पूर्वं प्रकाशितमासीत्। तदनन्तरं च १८९९ खीष्टाब्दे पार्जिटरमहोदयेन वंगदेशीयरायलएशियाटिकसोसाइटीनिमित्तं मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य आंग्लभाषान्तरं प्रकाशितम्, तदंगभूतत्वाच्च मार्कण्डेयान्तर्गतं देवीमाहात्म्यमपि तेन आंग्लभाषायामनूदितमासीत्। एतदर्थे मुम्बईनगर्यां मुद्रितमेकं पूर्वभावि संस्करणमपि पार्जिटरमहोदयेनोपयुक्तम्। पश्चात् १९५३ खीष्टाब्दे स्वामिजगदीश्वरानन्दाख्येन विदुषा मद्रासस्थानीयरामकृष्णमठात् देवीमाहात्म्यस्य मूलपाठसहितम् आंग्लभाषान्तरं प्रकाशितम्। एतच्च भाषान्तरं यद्यपि प्रायेण पार्जिटरकृतभाषान्तरस्योपजीव्येव, तथापि कैश्चित् परिवर्तनैः सह संवलितं वर्त्तते। काशिराजन्यास-संस्करणनिर्माणे प्रागुक्तं संस्करणद्वयमुपयुक्तम्। अस्मिन् संस्करणे देवीमाहात्म्यस्य वचनानां प्रतीकार्थाः

स्पष्टीकृताः, तथा च तत्र वर्णितेषु देव्यै प्रदत्तोपहारेषु मध्ये केषांचित् 'नागहार' 'किञ्जल्किनी' (२.३०) प्रभृतीनामाभूषणानां सांस्कृतिकं महत्त्वमपि विवेचितम्, येन देवीमाहात्म्यग्रन्थस्य निर्माणकालविषयकाः केचिन्निर्देशाः प्राप्येरन् ।

अस्मिन् संस्करणे देवीमाहात्म्यग्रन्थस्य प्रतीकार्थविवेचनाय विचारः प्रस्तुतः । स्वाहा-स्वधा-वषट्कार-सावित्री-वाक्-त्रयीविद्या-महाविद्या-महामाया-महामेधा-महास्मृति-महामोहादयः शब्दास्तथा व्याख्याताः सन्ति यथा तेषां प्राचीनपृष्ठभूमिका पारस्परिकविशेषता च स्पष्टा भवेत् । इदमत्रावधेयं यद् महादेवी, सप्त मातरो, महिषासुरश्च वैदिकपरम्परया सह सम्बद्धा वर्तन्ते । देवीमाहात्म्यग्रन्थे प्राचीना सामग्री नूतने रूपे तथा प्रस्तुता यथा सा गुप्तकाले पुराणैस्तन्त्रैश्च स्वीकृताभिर्भागवतधर्मभावनाभिः सहानुकूल्यं व्रजेत् । उदारसमन्वयभावनया संयुक्ता धार्मिकभावनैवास्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रधानं प्रतिपाद्यम् वर्तते । अतएवात्र ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवसूर्यादीनां बहूनां देवानां देवीरूपिणीनाम् तेषां शक्तीनां च वन्दना कृता, त्रिदेवतत्त्वस्य च मूले एकत्वं प्रतिपादितम् । अतएव एकादशेऽध्याये कात्यायनीनारायण्योश्चाभेदः प्रतिपादितः, पञ्चमेऽध्याये च स्वयं देव्यपि विष्णुमायात्वेन कल्पिता । देवीमाहात्म्यग्रन्थस्य रचयिता समन्वयकारिण्या विलक्षणप्रतिभया सम्पन्न आसीत् । भारतदेशस्य विविधभागेषु प्रचलितान् देवीसम्प्रदायस्य विविधभेदान्प्रति च तस्य गहनाऽन्तर्दृष्टिरविद्यत । अस्मादेव हेतोरत्र देव्येव तत्त्वतः स्वरात्मिका, सावित्री, गौरी, काली, कात्यायनी, चामुण्डा, शिवा, कौशिकी, पार्वती, चण्डिका, ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी, कौमारी, वैष्णवी, वाराही, नारसिंही, इन्द्राणी, आसुरी, रक्तदन्तिका, शताक्षी, शाकम्भरी, भीमा, भ्रामरीत्यादिरूपैरुपवर्णिता विद्यते ।

अस्य देवीमाहात्म्यस्य रचयितुः प्रज्ञा कुशाग्रा, भारतेतिहासस्य स्वर्णयुगानुकूला, युगानुसारिविचारसमर्था चासीत् । एतच्च पञ्चमेऽध्याये रचिताभिः स्तुतिभिः स्पष्टं प्रतीयते । तत्र ग्रन्थकारो देवीं विष्णुमाया-चेतना-बुद्धि-निद्रा-क्षुधा-शक्ति-तृष्णा-क्षान्ति-जाति-लज्जा-शान्ति-श्रद्धा-कान्ति-लक्ष्मी-वृत्ति-स्मृति-दया-तुष्टि-मातृ-भ्रान्ति-सदृशेषु मानवोचितरूपेषु स्तौति । देवीरूपाणामियं सूची त्वेतादृशानाम् अन्येषामपि मानवसम्बन्धिनां भावानामुपलक्षणम् । अनेन

चैतत् सूच्यते यन्मानवो येषां जीवनतत्त्वानां संघातो विद्यते, तेषां मूलं देव्यैव । देव्या एवोद्भूतानीमानि तत्त्वानि मानवभूमिमवतीर्याभिव्यक्तिं भजन्ते । देव्या हृदयं तु सदैव लोकहिते निरतं वर्त्तते । अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे देव्याः परममव्याकृतम् अपरं च त्रिगुणात्मकम्, एवमुभयविधं रूपमुपवर्णितम् । विद्युत्प्रवाहस्य परस्परविरुद्धौ ऋणात्मकधनात्मकशीर्षाविव ते द्वेऽपि रूपे आत्माग्नेर्विस्फुलिङ्गान् जनयतः ।

एतादृशस्य महत्त्वपूर्णग्रन्थस्य रचनास्थानं रचनाकालश्चाद्यापि विमर्शमपेक्षेते । विमर्शोऽयं मार्कण्डेयपुराणमपि विषयीकरोति, यतः, देवीमाहात्म्यमस्य पुराणस्यान्तर्गतमेव । इदं मार्कण्डेयपुराणं गुप्तसाम्राज्यकाले रचितं, चतुर्थशताब्द्यवसाने चन्द्रगुप्तविक्रमादित्यसमये चास्य सम्पादनं परिसमाप्तमिति 'मार्कण्डेयपुराण-एक सांस्कृतिकअध्ययन' इति-नामकेऽस्माकं ग्रन्थे प्रतिपादितं वर्तते । पार्जिटरमहोदयस्यापीदमेव मतं विद्यते । तेनोच्यते यद् ६०८ ख्रीष्टाब्दीये पश्चिमभारतस्यैकस्मिन् शिलालेखे देवीमाहात्म्यस्यैकः श्लोको विद्यते इति डा० डी० आर० भाण्डारकरेण निर्दिष्टम् (बाम्बेब्रांच आफ रायलएशियाटिकसोसाइटिपत्रिका, भाग २३, १९०९, पृ० ७३), येनेदमनुमीयते यदयं ग्रन्थः ४०० ख्रीष्टाब्दे तन्निकटे वा समये पूर्तिमगात् (पार्जिटर, मार्कण्डेयपुराणभूमिका, पृ० १४, विंटरनिट्ज, हिस्ट्री ऑव संस्कृत-लिटरेचर, भाग १, पृ० ५६५) ।

मार्कण्डेयपुराणे गुप्तकालप्रसिद्धाः पद्मिनीविद्याकूर्मविभागादयः केचिदभिप्रायाः (Motifs) अपि विद्यन्ते ।

पार्जिटरमतानुसारेण मार्कण्डेयपुराणं स्वतन्त्ररूपेण पृथक्पृथक्प्रचरितानां पञ्चानामुपाख्यानानां समाहार एव । तद्यथा—

(१)—अध्यायाः १-९, एषु जैमिनिर्मार्कण्डेयं चतुरः प्रश्नान् पृच्छति, मार्कण्डेयश्च तान् समाधत्ते ।

(२)—अध्यायाः १०-४४, एषु जैमिनेश्चतुर्भिर्धर्मपक्षिभिः सह संवादो वर्त्तते । परन्तु वास्तविकौ संवादकर्तारौ तु तत्र जडसुमतिस्तस्य भार्गववंशीयः पिता च ।

(३)—अध्यायाः ४५-८०, यत्र आपाततः जैमिनेर्धर्मपक्षिणां च संवादो प्रतीयते, परन्तु वास्तविकसंवादकर्तारौ तत्र मार्कण्डेयस्तस्य शिष्यः क्रौष्टुकिश्च यः पुराणविषयकान् प्रश्नान् पृच्छति ।

(४)—अध्यायाः ८१-९३, अयं भागः 'देवीमाहात्म्यम्' इति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धः । अत्र वक्ता ऋषिर्मेधाः, श्रोतारौ च सुरथो नाम नृपतिः समाधिर्नाम वैश्यश्च । मार्कण्डेयेन तु केवलं तेषां संवादः प्रस्तुतः । अयं भागः स्वतन्त्रग्रन्थस्य सर्वैर्लक्षणैः समन्वितो वर्तते । यद्यप्यस्याधारः कथात्मको विद्यते, परन्तु साररूपेणायं ग्रन्थः आध्यात्मिकः संवाद एव, देव्याश्चरित्रत्रयमनुसृत्य त्रिषु भागेषु विभक्तश्च । अत्यन्तं सार्थकोऽयं ग्रन्थः सर्वथैव स्वस्य आभ्यन्तरमैक्यं प्रकटीकरोति । अन्यत्राप्राप्याया विलक्षणकाव्यप्रतिभाया उन्मेषोऽत्र प्राप्यते ।

(५)—अध्यायाः ९४-१३६, अस्मिन् भागे मार्कण्डेयस्य तच्छिष्यस्य क्रौष्टुकेश्च संवादो वर्तते । विषयाश्चाप्यत्र पौराणिका एव । अस्मिन् भागे वर्तमानं कथासूत्रं ८० अध्याये त्रुटितेन कथासूत्रेण सह समन्वेति ।

मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य ईदृशं ग्रथनं समालोक्यैव पार्जिटरमहोदयोऽमन्यत यदिदं पुराणं स्वतन्त्ररूपेण रचितैरेतैः पञ्चभिर्भागैरेकत्र संनीय वर्तमानरूपे सम्पादितम् । प्रारम्भे तु मार्कण्डेयक्रौष्टुकिसंवादात्मकाभ्यां पूर्वोक्ताभ्यां (३), (५) भागाभ्यामेव मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य मूलरूपं निर्मितमासीत् । पश्चाच्च (१), (२), (४) भागानपि संयोज्य तन्मूलरूपं परिवर्द्धितम् । देवीमाहात्म्यं तु पुनः स्वतन्त्ररूपेणैव रचितमासीत्, पश्चाच्च मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य वर्तमानकलेवरे संयोजितमासीदित्यत्र विदुषामैकमत्यं प्रतीयते । अयं 'देवीमाहात्म्य'ग्रन्थो गुप्तयुगस्योत्कृष्टा साहित्यिकरचना विद्यते । इयं रचना तस्मिन् युगे प्रचरितस्य महतो धार्मिकान्दोलनस्य परिणाम आसीदिति देवीमाहात्म्यस्य रचना-पद्धत्या स्पष्टं प्रतीयते । अस्माद् ग्रन्थात् केचित् धर्मविषयका मूर्त्तिकलाविषयका एवं संस्कृतिविषयकाश्च संकेताः प्राप्यन्ते, ये पृथक् पृथक् विचारमर्हन्ति । यद्यपि मूलतः शाक्तसम्प्रदायस्यैवेयं रचना, तथापि गुप्तयुगे भागवतैः प्रचारितया सर्वधर्मान्प्रति समुदारभावनयाङ्कितेयं वर्तते । संपूर्णेयं रचना समन्वयभावनया

प्रोता वर्त्तते, अतएवात्र वैष्णव-शैव-शाक्त-गाणपत्य-सौरादीनां बहूनां धर्माणां धार्मिकविचाराः सिद्धान्ताश्च स्वीकृताः समादृताश्च सन्ति। अत्र देवी विष्णुमायेत्यपि स्तूयते। एकादशाध्यायस्य नारायणी-स्तुतौ च नारायणी शक्तिः कात्यायन्या अभिन्ना (११. १), कात्यायनी च पुनर्वैष्णवीशक्तिरिति च मन्यते। चतुर्थाध्याये सा 'दुर्गा' 'श्री' 'गौरी' इति नामभिरेकस्मिन् श्लोके (४. १०) युगपदेव स्तूयते। गुप्तयुगे पञ्च प्रधानधार्मिकसम्प्रदायाः प्राचरन्, ते च—

१—त्रयी-वेद-उपनिषद्-आरण्यक-वेदान्तेति परम्परारूपेण प्रवर्त्तितो वेदसम्प्रदायः।

२—अव्यक्तां त्रिगुणात्मिकां प्रकृतिं जगतो मूलकारणं मन्वानः सांख्यसम्प्रदायः।

३—योगसम्प्रदायः।

४—पाशुपतशैवाः।

५—पाञ्चरात्रभागवताः।

एते पञ्चापि सम्प्रदायाः पुष्पदन्तेन महिम्नस्तोत्रस्यैकस्मिन् प्रसिद्धे श्लोके निर्दिष्टाः, तद्यथा—

त्रयी सांख्यं योगः पशुपतिमतं वैष्णवमिति।
प्रभिन्ने प्रस्थाने.................. ॥ (श्लो० ७)

एते पञ्चापि मिलित्वा कृतान्तपंचकमिति प्रसिद्धाः, यथा—

सांख्यं योगः पंचरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा।
कृतान्तपञ्चकं ह्येतत् शास्त्राणि विविधानि च॥
विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पु० २.२२.१३८-१३९

एतानि पञ्च प्रस्थानानि परस्परसमन्वितानि एकनिष्ठानि चासन्, न तु परस्परविरुद्धानि पृथङ्निष्ठानि च (शान्तिपर्व, अ० ३३६, ३३७)।

देवीमाहात्म्यस्य सूक्ष्मदृष्ट्या अध्ययनेन स्पष्टमिदं प्रतीयते यदयं ग्रन्थः एतेषु पञ्चसु प्रस्थानेषु गुप्तकाले प्रचरितानां सिद्धान्तानां व्यवहाराणां च समन्वय-रूपः साररूपश्च। एकान्तिनां भागवतानां धर्मो नारायणपरात्मक आसीत्

(शान्तिपर्व, ३३६. ७६)। नारायणस्य शक्तिर्नारायणीति मता। अस्मिन् सम्प्रदाये त्रयीधर्मः परं समादृतोऽभवत्। वेदाः स्वतःप्रमाणाः अमन्यन्त। देवीमाहात्म्ये भगवती देवी ऋग्यजुषां साम्नां च निधानं शब्दात्मिका त्रयी देव्येवेति कथिता (४.९)। एवम्, अन्येषामपि सम्प्रदायानाम् बहवः सिद्धान्ता देवीमाहात्म्ये सन्निवेशिता वर्तन्ते। अस्मिन्नेव लोके जीवनकाले च भुक्तिश्च मुक्तिश्चेत्युभेऽपि प्राप्तुं शक्येते इति भागवतानां महान् विश्वास आसीत्। पुराणेषु चानेकवारं "भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रद" इति वचनं श्रूयते। देवीमाहात्म्येऽपि देवी "भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदायिनी" इत्युच्यते (११.६)।

देवीमाहात्म्यस्य निर्माणकालनिर्णयाय अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे मूर्त्तिकलासम्बन्धि प्रमाणं प्राप्यते। प्रथमतः, महिषासुरो देव्याः शूलेन ताडितस्तया पदाक्रान्तश्च सन् निजमुखाद् अर्धनिष्क्रान्त एव युद्ध्यमान आसीदिति वर्णितमत्र (३.३७-३९)। महिषासुरस्येयम् अर्धनिष्क्रान्तरूपा मूर्त्तिः प्रथमवारं चतुर्थशताब्द्यनन्तरं गुप्तकाले एव निर्मिता समुपलभ्यते। कुषाणकालीने मथुरावर्तिनि वास्तुकलासम्प्रदायेऽपि महिषमर्दिन्या देव्या बह्व्यो मूर्त्तयो निर्मिताः समुपलभ्यन्ते, यत्र महिषासुरो देव्या केवलं पदाक्रान्त एव दर्शितः, परन्तु न कासुचिदपि कुषाणकालीनासु महिषमर्दिनी-मूर्त्तिषु महिषासुरस्य शिरो देव्याः शूलेन पृथक्कृतं तस्य अर्धनिष्क्रान्तमूर्तिर्वा दृश्यते। इदं च देवीमाहात्म्यरचनाकालनिर्णये निश्चितं प्रमाणमुपस्थापयति अपरमपि मूर्तिकलासम्बन्धि प्रमाणमत्र वर्त्तते। देवीमाहात्म्ये सप्त मातृकाः वर्ण्यन्ते। ऋग्वेदेऽपि सप्त मातरः प्रोक्ताः प्राप्यन्ते। परन्तु पुराणेषु प्राप्यमाणा सप्तमातृणां ब्रह्माणीमाहेश्वरीत्यादिशक्तिरूपेषु कल्पना प्रथमवारं कुषाणकालस्यारम्भे एवोपलभ्यते। कुषाणकाले निर्मिताः सप्तमातृकाणां मूर्त्तयः केवलं स्त्रीरूपाः वाहनादिरहिताश्च दृश्यन्ते, तासां दक्षिणहस्ताः अभयमुद्रायामुद्धृताः, वामहस्ताश्च कमण्डलुयुक्ताः प्रदर्शिता। आसां मूर्तीनामेका सर्वश्रेष्ठा मूर्त्तिः मथुरासंग्रहालये वर्त्तते। परन्तु गुप्तयुगे मातृकाणां मूर्त्तिषु पृथक् पृथक् वाहनान्यायुधानि च दृश्यन्ते॥

देवीमाहात्म्ये सप्त मातृका द्विवारं वर्ण्यन्ते (अध्या० ८,११)। तासां स्वरूपाणि तत्रेत्थं वर्णितानि—

१—ब्रह्माणी—ब्रह्मणः शक्तिः, हंसयुक्तविमानस्था, साक्षसूत्रकमण्डलुश्च (८. १४)।

२—माहेश्वरी—महेश्वरशक्तिः, चन्द्ररेखाविभूषिता, महाहिवलया, वृषारूढा च (८. १५)।

३—कौमारी—कुमारस्य शक्तिः, शक्तिहस्ता, मयूरवाहना च (८. १६)।

४—वैष्णवी—विष्णोः शक्तिः, गरुडारूढा, शंखचक्रगदाशार्ङ्गखड्गहस्ता च (८. १७)।

५—वाराही—यज्ञवराहरूपस्य विष्णोः शक्तिः, वाराहीं तनुं बिभ्रती, गृहीतमहाचक्रा, दंष्ट्रोद्धृतवसुंधरा च (८. १८; ११. १६)।

६—नारसिंही—नृसिंहस्य सदृशं शरीरं बिभ्रती, सटाक्षेपयुक्ता च (८. १९)।

७—ऐन्द्री—वज्रहस्ता, किरीटिनी, गजराजारूढा, सहस्रनयना च (८. २०; ११. १८)।

गुप्तयुगे समुपलभ्यमानाभिः सप्तमातृकाणां मूर्तिभिः सहैव ईशानमूर्त्तिरपि वर्त्तते। तथैव च देवीमाहात्म्येऽप्युक्तम्—'ततः परिवृतस्ताभिरीशानो देवशक्तिभिः' (८. २१) इति। गुप्तयुगे भागवतानां विश्वासानुसारेणैव वराहेण पृथिवी समुद्रादुद्धृतेति पौराणिकी मान्यता प्रचरितासीत्। अतः, देवीमाहात्म्ये उपवर्णितानि सप्तमातृकास्वरूपाणि तु कुषाणोत्तरकालीनमान्यताप्रभवाणीति स्पष्टं प्रतीयते। तस्माद् देवीमाहात्म्येनापि तस्मिन्नेव कुषाणोत्तरकालीनयुगे रचितेन भवितव्यम्। एकादशाध्यायस्य नारायणीस्तुतौ एताः सप्त मातृकाः नारायण्याः अभिव्यक्तय एव मताः, यासु पुनस्त्रयो महादेव्यो—लक्ष्मीः, सरस्वती, दुर्गा—चापि सम्मेलिताः (११. २१-२३)।

देशकालज्ञाः सर्वे ग्रन्थकाराः स्वयुगीयां सांस्कृतिकीमवस्थां स्वग्रन्थेष्वभिसूचयन्ति। देवीमाहात्म्यस्य रचयिताऽपि गुप्तकालीनायाः सभ्यतायाः कानिचिद् विशिष्टरूपाणि तत्र-तत्र निर्दिशति, यथा—शुम्भाय प्रदत्तं काञ्चनस्रावि वारुणं छत्रम् ('छत्रं ते वारुणं गेहे काञ्चनस्रावि तिष्ठति', ५. ५०) इति निर्देशः।

काञ्चनवृष्टिश्च गुप्तयुगस्यैव कल्पना आसीत्। रघुवंशेऽपि 'हिरण्मयी कोषगृहस्य मध्ये वृष्टिं शशंसुः पतिता नभस्तः' (५, २९) इत्युक्तम्। मान्धातृराज्ये हिरण्यवृष्टिरभूदिति दिव्यावदानेऽप्युक्तम् "वृष्टं मे सप्ताहमन्तःपुरे हिरण्यवर्षम्" (पृष्ठ २१३, २१४) इति। तत्रैव च—"न कार्षापणवर्षेण तृप्तिः कामेषु विद्यते" (पृ. २२४) इत्यप्युक्तम्। महाभारत-शान्तिपर्वण्यपि सुहोत्रराज्ये हिरण्यवृष्टिरभूदिति निर्दिश्यते (शान्तिपर्व, पूनासंस्करणम्, २९. २४-२६)। हर्षचरिते बाणभट्टेनापि– "महाकनकावदातां वसुधारामिव द्यौः" इत्युक्तम् (निर्णयसागरप्रेससंस्करणम्, पृ० १३४)।

पश्चिमदिशि रोमसाम्राज्येन सह, पूर्वदिशि च द्वीपान्तरैः सह वाणिज्याद्धेतोः संगृहीता प्रचुरा सुवर्णराशिरत्र भारते सर्वानेव जनान् विस्मितानकरोत्, ते च तस्य महतः सुवर्णकोषस्य कारणं नभस्थलात् पतितां सुवर्णवृष्टिमेवाकल्पयन्। भारतीयवाङ्मयेऽपि सुवर्णवृष्टेरियं कल्पना गुप्तकाले प्राप्तानां सुवर्णमुद्राणां प्राचुर्यात् शतं वर्षाणि (३५० ई०-४५० ई०) प्रसृतासीत्। तस्माद् देवीमाहात्म्ये सुवर्णवृष्टिनिर्देशोऽस्य ग्रन्थस्य निर्माणकालनिर्णयेऽपरं निश्चितं प्रमाणं समुपस्थापयति।

देवीमाहात्म्ये (५.९६) महापद्मनिधिनिर्देशोऽपि मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य (अ० ६०) पद्मिनीविद्याऽन्तर्गतमहापद्मनिधिनिर्देशमनुसरति। लोके वितीर्णां प्रचुरधनराशिं समाश्रित्य प्रसृता पद्मिनीविद्याकल्पना गुप्तकालस्यैकः प्रधानोऽभिप्राय आसीत् (द्र० 'मार्कण्डेयपुराण-एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन', पृ० १५७-१५९)। अपरोऽत्र गुप्तकालीनोऽभिप्रायः शेषेण देव्यै प्रदत्तो नागहारो निर्दिश्यते। बाणभट्टेन कादम्बरीकथायामपि कादम्बर्या चन्द्रापीडाय शेषहार उपहारीकृत इत्युक्तम्। अयं नागहारो गुप्तकालीनासु वास्तुकलास्वपि लिखितो दृश्यते। तदनन्तरं च नागहारः 'दुन्दुभ' इति नाम्नाऽपि श्रीहर्षेण नैषधचरिते वर्णितः। दुन्दुभसर्पानुकारित्वादयं 'दुन्दुभ' इत्याख्यातः। देवीमाहात्म्ये नागहारं निर्दिशता ग्रन्थकारेण स्वस्मिन् काले प्रचरितानामलंकाराणां मध्ये नागहारस्यापि प्रचार आसीदिति सूचितम्।

अपरो निर्देशस्तत्र 'अग्निशौचवाससी' इत्यस्यापि वर्त्तते (५.९९)। अग्निशौचवासश्चाग्निनाऽदाह्यमासीदिति प्रतीयते। दिव्यावदानेऽपि सौवीरदेशाधिपतिना राजगृहनृपाय अग्निनाऽदाह्यमायुधमुपहाररूपेण प्रेषितमित्युक्तम् (डा० कावेलसम्पादिते दिव्यावदाने, पृ० ५४६)। उभावपीमौ निर्देशौ समानमेव संस्कृतियुगं निर्दिशतः।

देवीमाहात्म्ये 'दंशन' इति शब्दः 'कवच' इत्यर्थे प्रयुक्तो वर्त्तते (२.२७)। अस्मिन्नर्थे प्रयुक्तोऽयं शब्दः प्रथमं गुप्तकालीने वाङ्मये एवोपलभ्यते, यथा अमरकोशे—'तनुत्रं वर्म दंशनम्' (२.८.६५), कादम्बर्यादौ च। पुनः कृपाणेषु चर्मसु च अङ्कितानि अर्धचन्द्र-अष्टचन्द्र-शतचन्द्र-प्रभृतीन्यलंकरणान्यपि विमर्शमर्हन्ति। शरत्काले क्रियमाणाया देवीपूजाया निर्देशोऽप्यत्र प्राप्यते (१२.११)। इदं पर्व कियत्प्राचीनमिति न ज्ञायते; अतः, देवीमाहात्म्यनिर्माणकालनिर्णयार्थमयमनुपयुक्तो निर्देशः।

देवीमाहात्म्यस्य रचनायां तत्कालीनस्य धर्मस्यानेकाः प्रवृत्तयः सम्भूय साहाय्यमकुर्वन्निति ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् प्रोक्तानि देवीपूजाविधानानि स्पष्टं सूचयन्ति। प्रथमतः, अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे त्रयीविद्यारूपा प्राचीना वैदिकपरम्परा सर्वथा स्वीकृता। पुनश्च, सांख्ये प्रोक्ता त्रिगुणात्मिका प्रकृतिरपि देव्याः स्वरूपत्वेनैव गृहीता ("हेतुः समस्तजगतां त्रिगुणापि दोषैः" ४.६)। मुक्तिहेतुत्वेनाभिमता वेदान्तप्रतिपादिता परमा विद्याऽपि देव्या रूपमेवेत्यपि च प्रतिपन्नम्। देवीमाहात्म्ये पौराणिकी विचारसरणिः पूर्णतः प्रतिबिम्बिता वर्त्तते ; यतः, अत्र विष्णोर्ब्रह्मणः शिवस्य च 'लक्ष्मीः', 'सरस्वती', 'दुर्गा', इति शक्तयोऽपि देव्या एवाभिव्यक्तयः स्वीकृताः, सप्तमातृकाश्चापि देव्या एव रूपाणि मताः। सप्तमातृकाणां पूजाऽपि प्राचीनकालादेव प्रचलिता सती पुराणेषु पुनरुपबृंहणं लेभे। देवीपूजायाः स्वरूपं तु तदानीं प्रचलितेभ्यो लोकधर्मेभ्यः संगृहीतम्। देवीविषयका एते लोकधर्माश्च अष्टोत्तरशतदेवीपीठरूपेण देवीभागवते निर्दिष्टाः (देवीभा०, ७.३८)। देवीमाहात्म्येऽपि देवी 'भीमादेवी', 'शाकम्भरी', 'शताक्षी', 'भ्रामरी' चेति निर्दिश्यते।

पुनश्च, प्रज्ञावता ग्रन्थकारेण देव्येव चेतना-बुद्धि-निद्रा-क्षुधा-शक्ति-तृष्णा-शान्ति-श्रद्धा-कान्ति-वृत्ति-स्मृति-दया-तुष्टि-मातृ-व्याप्तिप्रभृतिभी रूपैर्मानवभूमिकामवतारिता, विष्णुमायेति नाम्ना विष्णोः शक्तिरिति व्याख्याता च। एवं च, देवीमाहात्म्ये विभिन्नमतानां विचार-रश्मयः सम्यक् प्रतिफलिताः सत्यो ग्रन्थकारस्य परमोदारप्रज्ञां सूचयन्ति। अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे सत्यज्योतिरमृतत्वादीनां दैवभावानाम्, अनृततमोमृत्युरूपाणामासुरभावानां च समष्टिस्तरे तत्र तत्र संघर्षः प्रदर्श्यते। अन्ते च, दैवभावानामेव विजयो ग्रन्थकारेण सर्वत्र प्रदर्शितः। महाशक्तिमताम् आसुरभावानां पराजयाय सर्वेषामेव आध्यात्मिकदैवभावानां संघटनमुचितम् आवश्यकं चेत्यप्यत्र सूचितम्। सर्वत्र देशे काले च प्रसृता असुराः (आसुरभावाः) असंख्याः सन्ति, ते च प्रतिक्षणं देवान् (आध्यात्मिकान्-दैवभावान्) युद्धाय आह्वयन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति। तेषामसुराणां पराभवाय देव्या कौशिकीति (शरीरकोशानां शक्ति-) रूपेणावतीर्णया भाव्यम्।

स्वतन्त्ररूपेण रचितोऽयं देवीमाहात्म्याख्यो ग्रन्थः किंचित् परिवर्त्य मार्कण्डेयपुराणे सन्निवेशितः। इदं देवीमाहात्म्यमष्टमेन मनुना सावर्णिना सह सम्बद्धं वर्त्तते, सावर्णिर्मनुश्च सुरथनृपस्यावतारो मतः। सावर्णिसुरथयोरयं सम्बन्धोऽतीव शिथिल इति तु स्पष्टमेव। मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य ८० अध्यायस्यान्ते विच्छिन्नं महामन्वन्तरकथासूत्रं पूर्ववत् क्रौष्टुकिमार्कण्डेययोः संवादरूपेण ९४ अध्यायमारभ्य पुनः प्रचलति।

देवीमाहात्म्यस्य वर्तमानानां त्रयोदशानामध्यायानां मध्ये केवलमाद्या दश अध्याया एव मूलदेवीमाहात्म्ये आसन्निति प्रतिभाति। एकादशोऽध्यायस्तु नारायणीस्तुतिरूप एव, द्वादशश्च फलश्रुतिरूपः, स च स्पष्टमेव पश्चात् संयोजितो प्रतीयते। त्रयोदशोऽध्यायोऽपि देवीमाहात्म्यग्रन्थस्यान्ते शिथिलमुपनिबद्धः। अत्र महीमयीमूर्त्तिरूपेऽर्चिता देवी समाधिवैश्याय सुरथनृपाय च वरं ददाति।

आधुनिकेषु प्रचलितेषु देवीमाहात्म्यसंस्करणेषु 'उवाच' इत्यादीनां निर्देशानां गणनामप्यादाय श्लोकानां सप्तशतसंख्या पूर्यते। अयं च प्रयासः देवीमाहात्म्यस्य सप्तशतीरूपं सम्पादयितुं तच्च सप्तशतसंख्याकश्लोकयुक्तायाः श्रीभगवद्गीतायाः

कोटिमारोपयितुं च बुद्धिपूर्वकं कृतः प्रतीयते। अस्य सप्तशतीति प्रसिद्धं नाम मार्कण्डेयपुराणे कुत्रापि नोपलभ्यते। तत्रायं ग्रन्थः सर्वत्र पुष्पिकासु ग्रन्थभागे (२३.१) च देवीमाहात्म्यमित्येव निर्दिश्यते। अतः, अस्य प्रस्तुतस्य संस्करणस्यापि देवीमाहात्म्यमित्येव नामात्र स्वीकृतम्।

देवीमाहात्म्यस्यानेकाः टीकाः व्याख्याश्च प्राप्यन्ते। ताश्च अस्मिन् संस्करणे पृथक्सूच्यां निर्दिष्टाः। आसां च शान्तनुटीका विस्तृता वैदिकीं पौराणिकीं च विचारधारामाश्रित्य रचिता आध्यात्मिकार्थयुक्ता च वर्तते। जगच्चन्द्रचन्द्रिका-टीका च निर्देशवाक्यानपि गणयित्वा चण्डीहोमार्थं सप्तशतसंख्यां पूरयति। इमं च विभागं टीकाकारः 'सप्तशती-मन्त्रहोम-विभागकारिका' इति निर्दिशति। भास्कररायस्य गुप्तवतीटीकाऽपि सप्तशतसंख्यापूर्तिविषयकं सविस्तरं विचारं करोति।

एताः सर्वा अपि टीकाः स्वस्वरीत्या देवीमाहात्म्यस्यार्थानां स्पष्टीकरणे साहाय्यं प्रयच्छन्ति। आभिः टीकाभिर्युक्तमेकं संस्करणं वेंकटेश्वरप्रेसद्वारा प्रकाशितमासीत्, तच्चाधुना दुष्प्राप्यम्।

सौभाग्यात् मुम्बईनगरस्थे 'प्रिंस ऑफ वेल्स' इति नाम्नि संग्रहालये देवी-माहात्म्यस्य एकश्चित्रयुक्तः प्राचीनः ताडपत्रकोशः सुरक्षितो वर्त्तते। अयं च कोशो नेपालदेशे अनुमानतस् त्रयोदश्यां शताब्द्यां लिखित आसीत्। अस्य कोशस्य फोटोप्रतिलिपिः संग्रहालयस्य निदेशकमहोदयेन अत्र प्रेषिता। प्रस्तुते काशिराजसंस्करणे यः पाठो गृहीतः, तस्य मुख्याधारो नेपालकोशस्येयं फोटोप्रतिलिपिरेव। एतस्य कोशस्य केचित् चित्राण्यप्यत्र संस्करणे संनिवेशितानि सन्ति।

………………(अन्ते कृतज्ञताप्रकाशनम्)।

सर्वमङ्गलमाङ्गल्ये शिवे सर्वार्थसाधिके।
शरण्ये त्र्यम्बके गौरि नारायणि नमोऽस्तु ते॥

THE IDENTICAL PHILOSOPHICAL TEXTS IN THE NĀRADA PURĀṆA AND THE MAHĀBHĀRATA : THEIR CONTENTS AND SIGNIFICANCE

BY

V. M. BEDEKAR

[महाभारत-शान्तिपर्वणो मोक्षधर्मपर्वणि (पूनासंस्करणम्, अ० १७५-१८५, १८७-१८८, २११-२१२) तथा नारदीयपुराणस्य पूर्वभागे (वेंकटेश्वरसंस्करणम्, अ० ४२ ४४. १०५, ४५ ५-८७) च तत्त्वदर्शनविषयकाः केचित् समानाः श्लोकाः (म० भा० ४३५ श्लो०, ना० पु० ४२८ श्लो०) विद्यन्ते । लेखकमहोदयेनास्मिन् निबन्धे एतेषां श्लोकानां तुलनात्मकम् अध्ययनं प्रस्तुतम् । नारदीयपुराणे केचिन्महाभारतश्लोका न विद्यन्ते । नारदीयपुराणस्य वर्णनं पौराणिकशैल्यां वर्त्तते । महाभारते चात्र प्रायशो दार्शनिकशैल्यामेव वर्णनं प्रस्तुतम्, तथाप्यत्र क्वचित् पौराणिकशैल्यपि गृहीता । एतद् दार्शनिकविवेचनं महाभारते भीष्मेण युधिष्ठिराय भृगु-भरद्वाज-संवादरूपेण कृतम् । उभयत्र श्लोकानां समानत्वाद् एतत् प्रतीयते यद् महाभारतादेव नारदीयपुराणेन एते श्लोकाः संगृहीताः । अथवा महाभारतेऽप्यत्र दार्शनिकप्रकरणे क्वचित् पौराणिकशैल्याः प्रयोगादेतदनुमातुं शक्यते यद् महाभारतनारदीयपुराणाभ्यामुभाभ्यामेव कस्माच्चित् तृतीयग्रन्थाद् एते श्लोकाः संगृहीताः ।]

The *Nāradīya Purāṇa* (NP or N) (published by Khemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa, Venkateśvara Press, Bombay, Śaka 1845, which is used for reference in this article) is divided into two parts : The former (*Pūrva-Bhāga*, NP I) consists of 125 chapters and the latter (*Uttara-Bhāga*), of 82 chapters. The former part is, again, subdivided into four subsections (*Pādas*) in which four speakers—Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and Sanātana speak respectively to Nārada. In the latter part (*Uttara-Bhāga*) Vasiṣṭha speaks to Māndhātṛ.

As Prof. R. C. Hazra[1] has shown, the *NP* is more a compilation than an original work. The first Pāda of the *NP*, or Chapters NP I. 1-41 "are generally the same as the Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa, though there are variations in readings and number of verses." This section according to Hazra is "purely a sectarian work describing the Vaiṣṇava feasts and ceremonies and contains chapters on the glorification of the Gaṅgā, the duties of the Castes and Āśramas etc. It is pre-eminently a work on *Viṣṇubhakti*, "devotion to Viṣṇu." According to Dr. P. V. Kane "The first part of the *NP* (NPI) deals with several matters such as praise of Viṣṇu and Bhakti, geography of India, story of Sagara, Bhagīratha and Gaṅgā-māhātmya, a few *vratas*, *Varṇadharma*, *āśramadharma*, *pātakas*, *sadācāra* and *śraddhā*. The second part deals with *tīrthas* and with the story of Rukmāṅgada and Mohinī."[1] Regarding the date of the *NP*, it is estimated that it was compiled between 700 and 1000 A. D.[2]

---

[1] 'Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs' by R. C. Hazra, M. A., Ph. D., (1940), pp. 127-133.

In consonance with its character of a compilation, the *NP* has also compiled some philosophical texts which are identical with those appearing in the *Mokṣadharmaparvan* of the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mb*). These philosophical texts from the point of their contents, are not quite in tune with the theistic and mythological tenor of the *NP*. It is proposed in this article to inquire into the contents of their philosophical texts identical in the *Mb* and *NP* and to indicate their significance in relation to both these works.

Regarding the date of the *Mb*, it has been now generally agreed that the *Mb*. must have assumed its present form by 400 A.D.

It would be useful to give a sort of a conspectus regarding the extent to which the philosophical texts are identical in the *Mb* and *NP*. The following table is given below, from that point of view, giving information regarding the topics in the philosophical texts identical in the *Mb* and *NP*. and the chapters and number of verses in the two works.

---

[1] 'History of the Dharmaśāstra' by MM. P. V. Kane, Vol. V., Part II., p. 892.

[2] See Kane, op. cit. p. 893. Hazra (op. cit. p. 132) puts the earlier limit at 875 A. D.

Mb XII (Cr. Edn.) TOPIC	*NP* I (Veṅk. Edn.) TOPIC
I. Cosmology, the description of the Soul, of Āśramas etc. as parts of the Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja dialogue told by Bhīṣma. Chs. 175-185 ; Śls. 253	I. Cosmology, the description of the Soul, of Āśramas etc., as parts of Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja dialogue told by Sanandana. Chs. 42-44. 20 ; Śls. 260
II. 'Adhyātma' explained by Bhīṣma. Ch. 187 ; Śls. 60.	II. 'Adhyātma' as part of Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja dialogue told by Sanandana. Chs. 44. 21-82 ; Śls 62
III. 'Dhyānayoga' explained by Bhīṣma. Ch. 188 ; Śls. 22	III. 'Dhyānayoga' as part of the Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja dialogue etc. Chs. 44. 83-105 ; Śls. 23.
IV. 'Pañcaśikha-Janaka Saṁvāda' narrated by Bhīṣma. Ch. 211-212 ; Śls. 100	IV. 'Pañcaśikha-Janaka Saṁvāda' narrated by Sanandana. Chs. 45. 5-87 ; Śls. 83
Total No. of Śls. 435	Total No. of Śls. 428

With regard to the part of the *NP* in which these identical philosophical texts are found it may be pointed out that these philosophical texts appear at the commencement of the second Pāda of the Pūrva Bhāga of the *NP*. the first Pāda having already concluded with chapters 1-41. With these philosophical texts, quite another subject matter is introduced which is not in accord with the subject-matter dealt with previously in chapters 1-41. As Prof. Hazra remarks, there is "a breach in the tone of the Bhakti that permeates *NP*. 1-41".[1]

---

[1] Hazra. op. cit. p. 131.

After this preliminary information, we now give an outline of the contents of the identical philosophical texts in the *Mb.* and the NP. It will, it is hoped, give a clear idea of the topics dealt with in the texts. The information is presented in a tabular form, providing a sort of concordance, in order to highlight the points of identity and important deviations between the versions in the two works. At the end of a topic dealt with in the texts, there are appended *Notes* which attempt to bring out the significance of that topic in the history of thought and the importance of the texts in the context of their identical transmission in the *Mb.* and the *NP.*

I BHṚGU-BHARADVĀJA-SAṀVĀDA

(a) *The creation of the great elements.*

Mb.	*NP.*
175.	42.
1-10. The dialogue between Bhṛgu and Bharadvāja is introduced in the *Mbh.* in reply to Yudhiṣṭhira's queries. Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma the following questions. "From what was this world created ? Into what does it dissolve in the end ? Who created the great elements and how were they created ? How did social classes come into being ? What is the nature of the soul ? Where do the souls go after death ?"— In reply Bhīṣma narrates the ancient discourse given by Bhṛgu to Bharadvāja, in which Bharadvāja had addressed the same questions to Bhṛgu.	1-13ab. In the NP., the dialogue between Bhṛgu and Bharadvāja is introduced in reply to the queries of Nārada. Nārada addresses the same questions as were put by Yudhiṣṭhira, to Sanandana. Sanandana says that in reply he would narrate to him the ancient discourse addressed by Bhṛgu to Bharadvāja. Sanandana, then, proceeds to narrate the questions put by Bharadvāja to Bhṛgu. This set of questions put in the mouth of Bharadvāja differs, however, from that previously put by Nārada to Sanandana in the beginning. This differing set of questions is as follows : How does the soul

	wander from birth to birth? How is the soul delivered? The great Lord Nārāyaṇa is the master. The soul is the servant. How is the Lord to be known? Again, how does the soul transcend its soulness and attain to the state of Brahman?

[*Note I*—It appears that the new set of questions put by the *NP* in the mouth of Nārada is in response to the demand of the theistic spirit dominating the N. Purāṇa. It will be seen in the sequel that there is no mention of Brahman in the Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja-dialogue which deals with the individual soul rather than the universal Soul.]

Mb.	*NP.*
11-14 Bhṛgu Says: The first immortal Being is named *Avyakta* characterized by the *Manas* (Mānasaḥ). He first created the Great Ākāśa (Mahān Ākāśa). From the Ākāśa, arose water, from water, the wind and the fire and from the combination of fire and wind, there arose the earth.	13cd—16ab just as in the *Mb.*
15-37 Bhṛgu continues: "The First self-born Avyakta or Mānasa created the lotus. From the lotus arose Brahmā called also Ahaṁkāra. The creator of Ahaṁkāra is the Lord Viṣṇu called also *Ananta* (the Boundless) with the wind as His breath, the sky as His	16cd–40 The same as in the *Mbh.*

head. He cannot be comprehended on account of His boundlessness (*anantatvād*)". The sky is measureless, so also the wind and water and they are indicative of the immeasurable power and greatness of the Great Being Ananta called also Mānasa. This Mānasa or Ananta assumed the form of Brahmadeva. The earth is his lotus-seat. The high Meru mountain is the pericarp (*karṇikā*) of that lotus"

[*Note II*—The characterization of the Supreme Being as Viṣṇu and the mythological description of Viṣṇu as creating the lotus and Brahmadeva fit in with the theistic and mythological character of the Nāradīya Purāṇa which is a sectarian Vaiṣṇavaite work.]

[*Note III.* This part of the Mb. text describing creation in mythological terms is quite out of accord with the rather scientific or rational tenor of the account of creation of the great elements and of the characterization of the individual soul found in the sequel. It is possible that the agreement with regard to this passage between the *Mb* and the NP may be due to a common Source-text which already contained this mythical account and which, therefore, might not have been dropped by the diaskeuasts of this part of the *Mb* text.]

176.	42.
1—17	41—37
In reply to Bharadvāja's question as to how the great elements came into being, Bhṛgu gives a reply which is actuated by a spirit of scientific	The same as in the *Mbh.*

observation. "Formerly, there was the Ākāśa, silent and motionless, as if asleep. From it arose water, like another darkness. As a vessel filled with water makes sound, so also surging water pressed against the Ākāśa and there arose from the ocean, the voicy wind. From the friction between the wind and the water, there arose the element of the Fire. The contact of the fire, water and wind gave rise to a sort of a liquid which solidified into earth."

(b) *The Great Elements present in animals and Plants*

177.	42.
1—25	58—80
Bhṛgu states in reply to Bharadvāja that the great elements enter into the body of animate beings and inanimate creation. The Wind causes movement in the animal body, the Ākāśa provides cavity spaces. Fire gives heat, Water provides liquid sap, and Earth	The same as in the *Mbh.* except *Mbh.* 177. 15—16 which state that the plants have the sense of tasting and drinking. The omission of these verses in the *NP.* appears to be the result of haplographical error. on the part of the scribe who copied the text.[1]

Mb. XII. 177

[1] पुण्यापुण्यैस्तथा गन्धैर्धूपैश्च विविधैरपि ।
अरोगाः पुष्पिताः सन्ति
तस्माज्जिघ्रन्ति पादपाः ॥14॥

NP. 42

पुण्यापुण्यैस्तथा गन्धैर्धूपैश्च विविधैरपि ।
अरोगाः पुष्पिताः सन्ति
तस्माज्जिघ्रन्ति पादपाः ॥71॥

the solid body mass. In reply to Bharadvāja's objection that the plants have not all of these elements in them and therefore no life. Bhṛgu stoutly proves and asserts that the plants have the senses of touch, hearing, sight, smell and taste and have also life a living soul because tkey experience pleasure and pain and grow even when cut.

(c) *The qualities of the great elements*

Mb.

177.

26-39

Bhṛgu narrates the qualities of the great elements and further describes the kinds into which the characteristic quality of each great element can be classified. Thus smell, the characteristic quality of the earth is described to be nine-

NP.

42.

81-97

The same as in the *Mbh.* except the following :

(i) The sequence of some verses differs, though there is no change of meaning : e.g.

Mbh.		NP.
26cd	=	42.83 cd
33ab	=	42.95 ab

पादैः सलिलपानं च
व्याधीनामपि दर्शनम् ।
व्याधिप्रतिक्रियत्वाच्च
विद्यते रसनं द्रुमे ॥15॥
वक्त्रेणोत्पलनालेन
ययोर्ध्वं जलमाददेत् ।
तथा पवनसंयुक्तः
पादैः पिबति पादपः ॥16॥
ग्रहणात्सुखदुःखस्य
छिन्नस्य च विरोहणात् ।
जीवं पश्यामि वृक्षाणा-
मचैतन्यं न विद्यते ॥17॥

सुखदुःखयोर्ग्रहणा-
च्छिन्नस्य च विरोहणात् ।
जीवं पश्यामि वृक्षाणा-
मचैतन्यं न विद्यते ॥72॥

fold, taste sixfold, sight twelve-fold, touch twelve-fold and sound sevenfold.

33cd = 42.93cd
35ab = 42.89cd
35cd = 42.90ab

(ii) The kinds of form or colour (the object of sight = Rūpa) are described in the *NP.* as being 16, whereas in the *Mbh*, they are 12.[1] From the comparison of the texts, it appears that the *N* has extended the list of the qualities of Form (Rūpa) by adding to it the qualities ascribed to touch by the *Mbh.*

(iii) The kinds of touch are described in the *NP.* as being 11, while in the *Mbh.* they are 12.[2]

Mbh. XII 177	*NP. 42*
[1] ह्रस्वो दीर्घंस्तया स्थूलश्चतुरस्रोऽणु वृत्तवान् । शुक्लः कृष्णस्तथा रक्तो नीलः पीतोऽ रुणस्तथा । एवं द्वादशविस्तारो ज्योतीरूपगुणः स्मृतः ॥32॥	[1] ह्रस्वो दीर्घंस्तथा स्थूलश्चतुरस्रोऽणुवृत्तवान् । शुक्लः कृष्णस्तथा रक्तो नीलः पीतोऽरुणस्तथा ॥ कठिनश्चिक्कणः श्लक्षणः पिच्छिलो मृदुदारुणः । एवं षोडशविस्तारो ज्योतीरूपगुणः स्मृतः ॥ (87-89) The list would be of 17, if मृदु and दारुण are taken separate qualities.
[2] कठिणश्चिक्कणः श्लक्षणः पिच्छलो मृदुदारुणः । उष्णः शीतः सुखोदुखः स्निग्धो विशद एव च । एवं द्वादशविस्तारो वायव्यो गुण उच्यते ॥34॥	[2] उष्णः शीतः सुखो दुःखः स्निग्धो विशद एव च । तथा खरो मृदुःश्लक्ष्णो लघुर्गुरुतरोऽपि च । एवमेकादशविधो वायव्यो गुण उच्यते ॥ (94-95)

(iv) To illustrate the intensity of sound *N.* adds one more line than the *Mbh.*[1]

Mb.	*Np.*
177.	42.
39	97
The verse concludes the chapter by saying that in embodied beings, Water, Fire and Wind are always present or awake.	The same as in Mbh.

(d) *The functions af the great elements in the living body*

178.	42.
1-2	98
Bharadvāja asks a question as to how the fire and the wind have their being and behave in the embodied being and Bhṛgu replies that he would describe to him the way of the wind in the embodied being.	There is no question by Bharadvāja. Instead, it is said in continuation of the previous verse (97) by Bhṛgu that water, fire and wind are the very basis of a living body and that they cooperate with the breaths in the living body.[2]

---

[1] एष सप्तविधः प्रोक्तो गुण
आकाशलक्षणः ।
ऐस्वर्येरा तु सर्वत्र स्थितोऽपि
पटहादिषु ॥37॥

[1] एष सप्तविधः प्रोक्तो गुण आकाशसंभवः ।
ऐश्वर्येण तु सर्वत्र स्थितोऽपि पटहादिषु ।
मृदंगभेरी शंखानां स्तनयित्नो रवस्य च ॥
(91-92)

Mbh. 178

N. 42

[2] भरद्वाज उवाच—
पार्थिवं धातुमाश्रित्य शारीरोऽग्निः
कथं भवेत् ।
अवकाशाविशेषेण कथं वर्तयतेऽनिलः ॥
भृगुरुवाच—
वायोर्गतिमहं ब्रह्मन् कीर्तयिष्यामि
तेऽनघ ।
प्राणिनामनिलो देहान्यथा चेष्टयते बली ॥

[2] मूलमेते शरीरस्य व्याप्य प्राणानिह स्थिताः ।
पार्थिवं धातुमासाद्य यथा चेष्टयते बली ॥
98

It would appear from the underlying words that the author of the *N.P.* summarized the passage which appears in the *Mbh.*, taking care to continue the thread of the narrative.

3-17	99-113
Bhṛgu describes the functions of the five breaths in the embodied being : Prāṇa, Apāna, Udāna, Vyāna and Samāna, These Wind's fan the fire in the body, and the fire is constantly kept burning as in a cooking pot.	The same as in the *Mbh.*

Mb.	*Np.*
(e) *The individual Souls.*	
179.	43.
1-15	1-15
Bharadvāja asks the following questions to Bhṛgu : "If wind and fire explain the functioning of a living embodied being and when nothing remains of a living being, after the destruction of the body, there is then, no meaning in assuming the existence of a soul. If there is no soul, of what purpose are righteous acts such as the religious giving away of a cow which is said to 'save' the soul in life after death ?"	The same as in the Mbh.
180.	43.
1-30	16-49.
Bhṛgu replies "the soul exists and is not destroyed on the destruction of the body. Just as the fire subtly dormant in the fuel, only becomes im-	The same as in the Mbh. except the first-two introductory verses (NP. 16-17). In 16, Bharadvāja requests Bhṛgu, to remove his doubt, in 17

perceptible after the fuel is burnt, so also the soul, though it exists can not be perceived after the destruction of the body. Again it is the soul which experiences pleasure and pain. The soul is called the 'Kṣetrajña'. It can be 'seen' by one who is abstemious in food, pure-minded and who concentrates his mind on it in yogic contemplation.

Sanandana states that Bhṛgu gave the reply to remove the doubt of Bharadvāja, the reply being the same as in the Mbh.

[*Note IV*—Above are given in outline, the contents of what may be called the philosophical portion of the Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja dialogue which is common to both the *Mbh* and the *Np*. From the point of its thought-contents and the spirit of rational inquiry which permeates it, this text is considered to be a very important philosophical text, belonging under the early philosophical texts of the Mokṣadharma-parva of the *Mbh*. Prof. E. Frauwallner has convincingly brought out the importance of this philosophical text and its place in the evolution of Indian philosophical thought. The following extracts (in translation) from his work[1] will be found to be illuminating.

"The characteristic of this text is striking. It is the natural-scientific spirit which rules here,. the attempt to create a picture of the external world out of observations and experiences. This spirit shows itself in progressive steps, as for example in the origin of the Elements" (p. 127). "It is enough to point out the widening of the circle of questions and interests which the text brings in its orbit especially through a more precise investigation into the qualities of the Elements, through the discussion of the question as to which elements and sense-organs are contained in the animals and plants and through the handling of the physiological problems." (p. 129) "The question of the soul is raised in the last part of our text....According to it the existence of the soul is acknowledged....That it represents a knowing principle is already a self-evident fact for this period. Its designation as a thinking Principle (*Mānasaḥ*) or as 'thinking fire' (*Mānaso' gniḥ*) is already ancient and outdated (rickstanding) and is reminiscent of an early stage of development of the Vedic Fire-doctrine. But one thing is important...here there is a mention only of the individual soul. The idea of the world-soul—the Brahma—plays here no role....The soul is here called not *Atmā* (the self) as in the texts of the Upaniṣads and in the related teaching but it is designated as the Life (*Jīvaḥ*)....The idea that in every man a separate soul dwells and that these numerous souls are completely different from each other is old and obvious. To consider the individual souls as parts of the world-soul is a later idea and is only the result of Vedic development. It came into existence through the belief that the soul was explained as a part of a life-bearing element which has its own sphere outside man. The victorions penetration of this Vedic development and its suzerainty in the general tradition of Vedic writings creates the deceptive impression as if this were the only authoritative idea in the Indian philosophy of that time. Our text (of the *Mb.*), however, shows the continuance of that other ancient idea (of the individual soul). We shall find in Jainism a doctrine which is built on the same idea. It would be absurd to wish to assume the death and a revival of this idea. We must, therefore, presuppose that besides the doctrine of the World-Soul which dominated the tradition, the doctrine which assumed numerous individual souls different from one another had always its adherents in India and was represented by many schools" (129-32). "To summarize, in short the outcome of our consideration of the assessment of the text (Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja-dialogue) we can say as follows: It is characteristic of this text that its chief interest is the material world with which it more deeply occupied than is otherwise customary in the texts of this group. Hand in hand goes with it the absence of the Brahma-idea, in place of which there stands the old simple idea of the numerous individual souls." (p. 132)

---

[1] 'Geschichte der indischen Philosophic' I Band—Erich Frauwallner (Otto Muller Verlag Salzburg), 1953.

[*Note V.* With chapter 180, concludes in the *Mb.* the philosophical part of the Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja dialogue. The succeeding chapters 181-185, as will be clear in the sequel, deal with the social and individual ethics such as the duties of the *Varṇas* and the *Āśramas.* Chapters 183-185 contain prose passages. From the point of subject-matter and the manner of its presentation, chapters 181-185 of the Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja-Saṁvāda in the *Mb.* appear to be late texts in comparison with chapter 175-180].

Mb.	*NP*
(f) *Varṇa with its divisions and functions*	
181	43
1—20	50—62
Bhṛgu in reply to Bharadvāja's question describes the four Varṇas, stating that in the beginning there was only one viz. Brāhma Varṇa which however, divided itself into four, on account of differences caused by selfish passions and desires of men in the observance of duties.	The same as in the Mbh. except the following : (i) Mbh. 181. 4 cd, 5, 6 cd, 7, 14 cd, 15 have been omitted, perhaps on account of haplography. (ii) Mbh. 181. 18cd, 19. 20ab have been omitted apparently in an attempt to summarize.
182	43
1—17	63—81 ab
Bhṛgu in reply to Bharadvāja's question decribes the duties of the Varṇas, aspecially emphasising the conduct of a Brāhmaṇa who lives in a life of detachment and behaves with compassion towards all creatures	The same as in the Mbh. except the following : (i) Some important variant readings as in Mbh. 182. 6 ab = Nar. 43. 68 ab. (ii) *N.* adds verse (42. 72ab) before Mbh. 182. 10 by way of introducing this topic.

(g) *In praise of truth, righteousness etc.*

183	43.
1—16	81 cd—98 ab
Bhṛgu explains to Bharadvāja that truth, righteousness, happiness, delight and the light of knowledge are identical, while untruth, unrighteousness, grief and the darkness of ignorance are identical.	The same as in the *Mbh.* except the following : (i) Mb. 183. 5 and 12 which are prose passages are not found in the NP. (ii) Mbh. 183. 13 and 16 are not found in N. (perhaps due to the oversight of the copyist of the *N.*)
In this chapter in a prose passage 10. 3-4-5 it is stated by Bharadvāja that Brahmadeva, never made subject to blandishments of love, leads a life of austere celibacy and that Śiva deprived the god of love of his body when the latter came to attack him.[1]	These prose passages also appear in the *N.* 43. 91-92.

[*Note VI*—Perhaps this is the only passage in the whole of the *Mbh.* which alludes to the episode in which Śiva reduced Love to ashes.]

(h) *The four Āśramas and duties pertaining to them*

Mb.	*Np.*
184.	43.
1—18	98cd—127
185.	
1—6	
Bhṛgu describes in response to Bharadvāja's query the	The same as in the *Mb.* except certain variant readings

---

[1] श्रूयते च भगवान् त्रिलोककृद् ब्रह्मा प्रभुरेकाकी तिष्ठति ।3। ब्रह्मचारी न कामसुखेष्वात्मानमादधाति ।4। अपि च भगवान् विश्वेश्वर उमापतिः काममभिवर्तमानमनङ्गत्वेन शममनयत् ।5। (Mbh. 183. 10 ; N. 93. 91-92)

duties of the four Āśramas or the stages of life.

In the above text the duties of the Āśramas, are described in prose passages. At the end of the description of each Āśrama there is a verse which is prefaced by a remark 'भवति चात्र श्लोकः' and which appears to be a quotation from some work.

which are noted in *Appendix II, No 1 (page 2111 ff.* of the critical edition of the Mb. of the B.O.R.I.)

The same passages as in the Mbh., only with a few variant readings.

[*Note VIII*—In fact, the style of the above prose passages in the *Mb.* (and the NP) appears to be far-removed from the style of the prose passages in early *Brāhmaṇa* and Upaniṣad literature. It abounds in long highflown compounds and appears to be the precursor of the style in classical Sanskrit prose—With regard to these prose passages which, at the end of a topic, quote a verse from some work, it is surmised that they may have been taken from some Dharma-Sūtra work[1]].

Mb	*NP*
While describing the duties of a householder (*Mb* 184. 13), it is said that a householder doing his duties properly and successfully gratifies four categories of beneficiaries : (i) Gods by offering sacrifices. (ii) Manes by offering libations	This passage is identical in the *NP* (43. 114)

---

[1] P. Deussen noticing these passages in his article on 'Āśrama' in the 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics' (1909) vol. 2, p. 131, says. "Of special interest is the short description of *Mb*. xii. 191-192, which being in prose may have been inserted from an old Dharma-sūtra".

(iii) Sages by the study and memorizing of the Vedas and

(iv) Prajā-pati by begetting children.

[*Note VIII*—The idea of threefold debt (Ṛṇa) to the gods, sages and forefathers to be paid off by a householder is of common occurence in ancient Brāhmaṇical Literature. The above passage in the *Mb* setting forth the fourfold duties of a householder by adding a 'fourth debt' owed to Prajāpati must be regarded as of special interest from the point of the development of the *Ṛṇa* idea.]

Mb	*NP*
(i) *The heavenlike world on the Northern side of the Himalayas.*	
185.	44
7—25	1—20
In reply to Bharadvāja's query, Bhṛgu briefly describes the other heavenlike world situated on the northern side of the Himalayas which is inhabited by men of pure conduct living in bliss and happiness.	The same as in the *Mbh.* except certain variant readings and a variation in the sequence of the line in Mbh. 16 ab which appears as 13 cd.
26—27	These two verses are omitted in the *N.*
Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhira that the Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja-dialogue is concluded.	The Bhṛgu-Bhradvāja-dialogue is not concluded in the *N* but is still continued.

II 'ADHYĀTMAM'—THE ĀTMAN AND THE WORLD

Mb.	*NP.*
187.	44.
1-60	21-82
Yudhiṣṭhira asks (verse 1) Bhīṣma to explain to him what	The text is the same as in the *Mbh* except the following :

'Adhyātmam' is, and Bhīṣma (from verse 2 to 60) discourses to him on this topic of the *Adhyātma* which, from the discourse, appears to mean 'knowledge regarding the Ātman, knowledge about the relation between the Ātman and the world'.

(i) In place of Yudhiṣṭhira, it is Bharadvāja who requests Bhṛgu to explain to him what '*Adhyātma*' means and in place of Bhīṣma, it is Bhṛgu who discourses on the '*Adhyātma*'. The whole discourse on 'Adhyātma' is therefore reported in the *N.* by Sanandana as a part of the Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja dialogue which begins, as is already shown from Chapter 42 of the *N.*

(ii) There are four verse-lines in the *NP* which do not appear in the *Mbh.* They are 23 ab, 32 cd, 33 ab, 75 ab.

(iii) There are different readings for certain words which have been noted in the critical edition of the *Mbh.* (See Appendix II, No. 1 of the Śāntīparvan, p. 2113 ff.).

[*Note IX*—This *Mb* Chapter about the *Adhyātmam* which also appears in the *NP.*, seems, according to ancient tradition, a very important philosophical text, because it is preserved in three different versions in the *Mbh.* tradition itself :

(i) *Mbh.* XII. 187 as already noted above in which Bhīṣma delivers the discourse to Yudhiṣthira.

(ii) *Mbh.* XII 239-241 in which it appears as a discourse delivered by Vyāsa to his son Śuka.

(iii) *Mbh.* (Bombay edition) XII. 286(5) in which it appears as a discourse delivered by Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira. This chapter is noted by the critical edition of the *Mbh* in Appendix II, No. 1 of the Śāntiparvan, p. 2113.

This threefold handing down of the text in the *Mbh* along with the fourth version as preserved in the *NP.* indicates that this particular philosophical text must have enjoyed in the ancient past especially high esteem and unusual dissemination.

It would appear from the study of the philosophical contents of this text that the esteem in which it was held by thinkers of those times is richly deserved. Prof. E. Frauwallner has subjected this text to a very critical analysis[1] and has convincingly pointed out that the text is of onstanding importance in the Epic and occupies a characteristically remarkable position in the history of philosophical thought and represent in its contents the *urform*' of the later Sāṁkhya system. The following extracts in translation from his work will bring out the importance of this text.[2]

"The text begins with the description of the elements, their qualities, and the formation of beings out of the elements. Secondly, there follows the description of the sense organs and of the psychical organs in which the role, above all, of the most important among them i.e. Buddhi is dealt with in more detail. The description passes on naturally to the doctrine of the three states (Bhāvāḥ) of Buddhi on which depends the bondage of the soul. This again leads on to the description of this bondage, to the mention of Emancipation through the knowledge of the soul and then to the description of the emancipated" (p. 292). "According to the text, all psychical processes, all feelings of joy and grief, happen only in the *Buddhi* and come into play without the interference of the soul which, in reality, is not touched by them. But because the soul is continually connected with the Buddhi, it sees everything that goes on and because it sees it, it feels to be affected by it and believes itself entangled in the joy and grief which, in truth,

---

1. 'Geschichte der indischen Philosophie 'I B and (Otto muller Verlag, Salzburg) pp. 288-298. See also his 'Untersuchungen zum Mokṣadhama II Die Sāṃkhyistischen texte. Wiener Zeilschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlaudes 32/1925 pp. 188 ff.
2. 'Geschichti der indischen Philosophie' (op. cit).

are quite foreign to it. "The emancipation comes into being on account of the fact that the soul becomes conscious of its true nature, i.e. when one knows that joy and grief belong only to the earthly nature." (p. 295).

Pointing out the relation of these ideas with those in the older Upaniṣads in the oldest Buddhism and in the older texts of the Mb, as also with those of the classical Sāṁkhya system. Prof. Frauwallner concludes : "We have therefore found in the Mokṣadharma a text which was once famous and had great vogue. The text contains a teaching which belongs to the old epic times and which from the point of its place and time of origin, must not have been very distant from the doctrine of the oldest Buddhism. This teaching shows nevertheless, a close relation to the older Upaniṣads and lets itself for the most part, to be easily derived from the teaching of Yājñavalkya. Besides, it shows such further formulations as are characteristic of the Epic period. But above all, it has further developed the thought-system of the Yājñavalkya-doctrine in an original and significant manner. And all these further developed formulations shows a form which clearly leads to the later Sāṃkhya system. In this teaching, therefore, is to be seen the *Urform* of the later Sāṃkhyas ystem..." (p. 299).]

Mb.	*NP.*
III. DHYĀNA-YOGA—THE	YOGA OF MEDITATION
188.	44.
1-22.	83-105,
Bhīṣma discourses to Yudhiṣṭhira on the Dhyāna-Yoga or 'the Yoga of meditation'.	The same text as in the *Mb* except the following : (i) In the *Mb.*, Bhīṣma directly begins his discourse ; in the *N.*, however, verse (83) Bharadvāja asks Bhṛgu to tell him about the Yoga and Bhṛgu begins his discourse on Yoga from verse 84. According to the N., therefore, the discourse

on the Dhyāna-Yoga is a continuation of the Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja dialogue which Sanandana is narrating to Nārada from chapter 42.

(ii) There are some varriants which differ from the Mbh. They do not appear to be important and some of them appear to be the result of the scribe's overright. The variants have been recorded in the critical edition of the *Mb.* Śāntiparva, Appendix II, No. 1, p. 2119.

[*Note X*—From the description which Bhīṣma gives of Yoga in this chapter, it appears that the Yoga technique here described differs from that in the classical Yoga system and may represent an earlier phase in the development of the Yoga technique. It is similar to the Yoga-technique of early Buddhism.[1]]

IV. PAÑCAŚIKHA JANAKA-SAṀVĀDA

211.

2-48.

212.

1-52.

Both the chapters of the *Mb.* deal with the teachings of Pañcaśikha-Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma in what way Janaka attained to emancipation (211.1)

45.

5 49.

45.

50-87.

The first four verses (45.1-4) are different srom the *Mb.* It is stated therein that Nārada inquired of the sage Sanandana as to how one can get freed and Bhīṣma in reply narrates the ancient history in which Pañcaśikha, the grand disciple of Kapila and the disciple of Āsurī, explained to Janaka his teaching called the Sāṃkhya as a result of which Janaka attained to emancipation.

---

[1] See 'The Dhyāna-Yoga in the Mahābhārata (XII, 188); its similarity with the *jhāvu* of early Buddhism' —V. M. Bedekar (Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, January 1963).

from the bondage of ignorance and Sanandana (verse 4) says that he would narrate to him in that connection the ancient 'history' according to which Janaka attained to emancipation. The text onwards is the same as in the *Mb.*, except the following :

(i) There are variant readings in the *NP* which have been noted in the critical edition of the Mb. (Śāntiparvan, Appendix II. No. 2. page 2119).

(ii) *Mb.* 211. 31 c—32 d are omitted in the NP probably on account of haplography Mb. 212. 1 which verse States that Janaka again asks a question is omitted in the NP which merely substitutes '*Janaka uvāca*' in place of the verse. Mb. 212. 29-43 these verses are omitted in NP. It is interesting to note in connection with these omitted verses that of them, verses 29-31 already appear as Mb. 187. 30-32, (with slight variations) = NP 44. 51-53 while verses 32-43 in the Mb. appear to be out of place there. These verses (32-42) would perhaps read better after *Mb.* 212. 24 ab.

(iii) *Mb.* 212. 50 and 51 are transposed in NP as 45. 85-86 and as such read better.

[*Note XI*—The text (Chapters 211-212) in the *Mb* setting forth the teachings of Pañca-śikha which the text characterizes as 'the Deliverance in the Sāṁkhya way' (*Mb*. 211.19) appear to belong among the older philosophical text of the *Mb* and probably represents the early phase of the classical Sāṁkhya.[1]]

It will be clear from the above outline contents of the identical philosophical text in the *Mb* and the *NP* along with the notes appended thereto indicating their ideological significance that these texts belong under old philosophy texts of the *Mb*., which must have been considered very important by ancient tradition. No other Purāṇa except the NP appears to have incorporated these texts. These philosophical texts are not in accords with the theistic tone and the mythological character which pervade the NP. Yet the NP must have incorporated these texts as they were most probably considered as most important transmissions of ancient tradition, and as their incorporation was calculated to add to the belief about the hoary antiquity of the Purāṇa and to the sense of esteem and veneration towards it.

It can not be said with certainty whether the *NP* directly borrowed these texts from the *Mb*. It is possible that both the *Mb* and the *NP* drew upon a common source, making necessary changes while incorporating them to suit their respective purposes. Thus for instance, while as a general frame of narration the *Mb* makes Bhīṣma narrate to Yudhiṣṭhira the old histories such as the Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja-Saṁvāda, and in Pañcaśikha-Janaka-Saṁvāda the *NP* makes Sanandana repeat them to Nārada. Again while in the *Mb* the *Adhyātma* and the *Dhyānayoga* discourses are directly narrated by Bhīṣma, in the *NP* they are narrated by Sanandana as a part of the ancient Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja-Saṁvāda.

The important variations in the version of the text as it appears in the *NP* in comparison with that of the *Mb* have already been noted above. They may be summed up under the following categories :

---

[1] See V. M. Bedekar 'Studies in Sāṁkhya : (i) 'Pañcaśikha and Caraka' (ii) 'The teachings of Pañcaśikha in the Mahābhārata' pp. 140-147 and 233-244 respectively of the *annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. 38 (1958).

(i) The *NP* version has introduced certain elements in consonance with its theistic spirit ; cf. *NP* I 42. 7-11.

(ii) It appears to have summarized in certain places in longer version ; e.g. *Mb* 181. 18 cd, 19 and 20 ab are dropped in the *NP* versions.

(iii) It has omitted certain verses probably on account of a haplographical error ; e.g. *Mb*. 177. 15-16 ; 181. 4 cd, 5, 6 cd, 7, 14 cd, 15, are omitted in the *NP*.

(iv) While narrating the qualities and the sub-qualities of the great elements the *NP* version appears to follow, in some cases, a different principle of classification ; e.g. *NP* 1. 42. 87-95.

From the point of the *Mb*., the comparison with the versin of the text in the *NP* may, perhaps, provide a clue to a better understanding of the version in the *Mb*. For example, the following points which have already been noted above during the comparison of the contents, may be summed up as follows—

(i) The *Mb* 175. 15-37 contains a mythological account of creation and the description ill accords with the rational spirit of the rest of the chapter. It is possible that the common source which had already gained authority in ancient tradition from which the *Mb* and *NP* borrowed their versions, already contained this passage of such mythological character as an accumulation gained during a period of ascendant Vaiṣṇavism which the *Mb* diaskeuast could ill afford to omit.

(ii) Verses *Mb* 178. 1-2 and 212.1 which appear in the Bhṛgu-Bharadvāja dialogue and the Pañcaśikha-Janaka dialogue respectively are dropped in the *NP* version. These verses appear to have been introduced in the *Mb* version by way of a connecting link between the end of the previous chapter and the beginning of the new chapter. The *NP* version being a continuous narration did not need such a connecting link.

(iii) *Mb* 212. 29-43 : These verses, which are omitted in the *NP* version, appear from the point of their content, partly repetitions and partly disjointed and give the impression of passages tagged later into the text. The *NP* version, if it had before it a version containing this passage, must have noticed this defect in the passage and thought of omitting it.

ON THE DATE OF THE BRAHMĀṆḌAPURĀṆA

BY

S. N. ROY

[वायुब्रह्माण्डपुराणयोः परस्परं साम्यमवलोक्य एते द्वे पुराणे पूर्वमेकमेव आस्तामिति केषांचिन्मतं वर्त्तते । ब्रह्माण्डपुराणं वायुपुराणात् कदा पृथगभवदिति विचारोऽस्मिन् लेखे क्रियते । ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य तृतीयपादस्य २१-५८ अध्यायेषु वर्त्तमानं जामदग्न्यरामोपाख्यानमाश्रित्य वर्त्तमानब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य रचनाकालोऽप्यत्र विचारितः । महाभारतेऽपि जामदग्न्यरामोपाख्यानं वर्त्तते । परन्तु ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे तस्योपाख्यानस्य किंचित् परिवर्त्तितम् उपबृंहितं च रूपं प्राप्यते, येन ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य अस्यांशस्य परवर्ती रचनाकालो सूच्यते । ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य अस्मिन् भागे सामन्त-महाराजाधिराज-मण्डलेश्वरप्रभृतीनां केषांचिद् राजनीतिसम्बधि-शब्दानां प्राचीनार्थेभ्यो भिन्नेष्वर्थेषु प्रयोगो वर्तते । कान्यकुब्जभूपानां पराजयस्योल्लेखोऽप्यत्र विद्यते । अनेन एतस्यांशस्य रचनाकालस्य गुप्तकालात् परवर्तित्वं सूच्यते । वैदर्भीरीतिप्रयोगे कालिदासो विशिष्यते । ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्यास्मिन्नंशे वर्णनस्थलेषु वैदर्भीरीतिप्रयोगदर्शनाद् अस्यांशस्य बहूनां वर्णनानां च कुमारसम्भवमेघदूतरघुवंशग्रन्थेषु प्रदत्तानां वर्णनानामुपजीवित्वाच्चेदं स्पष्टं प्रतीयते यद् ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य रचनाकालः पञ्चमी षष्ठी वा शताब्दी भवितुमर्हति ।]

A very noteworthy feature of the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa is the agreement of its passages with those of the Vāyu-purāṇa. Exposition of the same ideas, narration of the same stories and use of similar phrases and words make these two Purāṇas more or less identical with each other. From this it has been supposed that originally these two Purāṇas were one, but later on they became separate.[1] It has also been surmised that the cause of this separation was possibly sectarian, because some of the passages of Brahmāṇḍa-p smack of vaiṣṇavism.[2] The separate entity of the Brahmāṇḍa-p had been acknowledged much earlier and it finds mention in the list of the Mahāpurāṇas as given in the purāṇas.[1] Its passages along with those of the Vāyu and other purāṇas have been frequently quoted by the Nibandhakāras.[2] Question arises, therefore, as to when and under what circumstances a separate purāṇa bearing the title of Brahmāṇḍa was compiled. This problem may be solved to some extent if we analyse its portion devoted to the story of Jāmadagnya-Rāma, which covering a large number of its chapters, has increased its bulk and is not found in the extant Vāyu-purāṇa.

---

[1] Pargiter, AIHT, pp. 23 and 77.

[2] Hazra, Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p. 18.

The portion of the Brahmāṇḍa-p which deals with the story of Jāmadagnya-Rāma is considerably large. There are as many as thirty-eight chapters (III. 21-58) in it. It can be briefly summed up as follows: Having sought the permission of his parents Jamadagni and Reṇukā, Rāma went to his grandfather's hermitage in order to see him. Then he proceeded to the hermitage of his great grand-father Ṛcīka, who advised him to appease lord Śaṁkara in order to achieve his aims. Accordingly Rāma went to the Himalaya and observed severe penances. Lord Śaṁkara being, thus, appeased appeared before him in the guise of Vyādha. After a great deal of discussion Rāma came to know that the hunter was none but Lord Śaṁkara himself who instructed him to make a round of the earth. Rāma did this and was successful in getting paraśu from Śaṁkara. He was entrusted with the task of killing the demons in the Devāsura-Saṅgrāma. With the help of Rāma the gods were successful in defeating the demons. Thereafter Rāma returned home. Then again with the instruction of his family-preceptor he started his penances. In the meantime King Kārtavīrya with his large army came to the hermitage of Jamadagni in course of a hunting expedition. Although a hermit Jamadagni welcomed him in the most honourific fashion worthy of a king by the help of his divine cow. During his retreat to the capital the king was advised by his wicked minister to take the cow from Jamadagni. The Ṛṣi, however, showed his unwillingness. Consequently force was employed from King's side. This resulted in the death of Jamadagni. After the death of her husband Reṇukā, too, decided to end her life. But she was checked by an invisible divine speech. In the meantime Bhṛgu came and by the help of Sañjīvanī-Vidyā he brought Jamadagni to life. When Rāma learned all these incidents he was excessively enraged. He promised to uproot the Kṣatriya race from the earth for twenty-one times, as his mother had beaten her chest for twenty-one times after she saw the dead body of her husband. Hearing the terrible promise made by his son, Jamadagni asked his son to take the instructions of Brahmā and act accordingly. When Rāma went to the Brahma-loka he was advised by Brahmā to go to the Śivaloka. In persuance of Brahmā's instructions he went to the abode of Śiva and having appeased him he was able to secure from him various weapons like Nāgapāśa, Pāśupatāstra, Brahmāstra etc. Then with the instruction of Agastya he worshipped Śrī Kṛṣṇa who having been pleased with Rāma told that the latter would be able to destory the Kṣatriya race from the earth. Having received this boon Rāma proceeded to Mahiṣmatī and challenged King Kārtavīrya for battle. In the battle which ensued various kings of the side of Kārtavīrya were killed and ultimately Kārtavīrya too met the same end. Rāma again went to Śiva loka in order to pay his homage to Śiva. Gaṇeśa, however, did not allow Rāma to enter the inner appartmeat. This raised the wrath of Rāma who attacked Gaṇeśa and struck off one of his teeth. When Pārvatī came to know of the pitiable condition of her son and the impertinence shown by Rāma, the favourite devotee of Śiva, she prepared herself to go to her father's abode. In order to pacify his wife, Śiva remembered Śrīkṛṣṇa and Rādhā whose appeal to Pārvatī pacified her. Rāma offered his prayers to Pārvatī, Śrīkṛṣṇa and Rādhā and returned home. On hearing the news of the murder of Kṣatriyas by his son Jamadagni was extremely worried. He asked Rāma to wash off his sin by observing penance at Mahendra-parvata. Rāma left home and went to Mahendra-parvata in order to obey his father's command. In the absence of Rāma it so happened that the sons of Kārtavīrya came to the Āśrama of Jamadagni in connection with Mṛgayā (hunting). Knowing that Jamadagni was father of their father's murderer they decided to wreck vangeance and killed him. After her husband's death Reṇukā, too, ended her life. When Rāma came back and saw that his father had been killed by the sons of Kārtavīrya, he promised to perform his paternal rites by the blood of the murderers of his father. He proceeded to Mahiṣmatī for this purpose and waged war against them. Victory favoured Rāma and his former promise of destroying the Kṣatriya race for twenty-one times was also fulfilled. Rāma, then, went to Kurukṣetra, excavated five ponds and filled them with the blood of Kṣatriyas. He named this place as Samantapañcaka and performed his paternal rites in accordance with the promise. His pitṛs appeared before Rāma and denounced his act of killing the Kṣatriyas. They instructed him to observe penances in order to get rid of the sin he had committed. They also said to him not to kill any Kṣatriya in future so that their place in heaven might be assured. Rāma, then, made three rounds of the earth and observed his penances in Siddhāśrama. On the instruction of the Munis he performed horse-sacrifice and gave entire earth to Kaśyapa who had acted as Adhvaryu in that sacrifice. He, however, reserved Mahendra-parvata for himself in order to observe penances.

---

[1] Ibid. pp. 17 & 18.

[2] Hazra has shown that the quotations and isolated verses of the Brahmāṇḍa-p used in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi are not found in the present Brahmāṇḍa. There must have been, therefore, an older text of the Brahmāṇḍa P. It should be noted that none of the Nibandhakāras has quoted any verse from the portion which is to be discussed in the present article.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE PORTION— If we consider the general nature and tenor of the portion it will appear that originally its form must have been different from the extant one. Its extant form has a number of weaknesses which evidently reveal compiler's attempt to increase the bulk of the Purāṇa. The very first sentence 'इत्थं प्रवर्तमानस्य' etc.[1] has hardly any relevance in the beginning of the story. It has, moreover, no connection with the previous passages devoted to 'श्राद्धकल्प'. It is evident that the beginning of the portion was at a subsequent stage in the original narrative. For, the word 'इत्थं' means something which has been previously described. It is always used in the middle of a certain narrative in order to connect the previous statement with the later one. It is surprising to note that the present account despite its being vast and exhaustive does not speak of the early life of Jāmadagnya-Rāma.[1] Other texts which depict the story of Jāmadagnya-Rāma unhesitatingly narrate how he was the most sincere son of his father and how he proved worthy of the same by beheading his mother at his father's command. It seems that the compiler wanted to give a new shape to the story on the basis of the original Kernel. Consequently he omitted some of the details and made additions at different places without considering their merit and relevance in a particular context. Thus Lord Śamkara in the guise of a hunter condemns Rāma and does not consider him to be fit for observing penances, as the latter had committed the most sinful act of beheading his own mother.[2] The earlier passages of the Brahmāṇḍa-p., as noticed above do not make any reference to the incident and Rāma appears to be faithful not only to his father but also to his mother, from the very beginning. Though omitting a part of the narrative the compiler wanted to increase the bulk of the purāṇa and give a new form to it by inserting such subsidiary stories which do not seem to have been part of the original form.[3] The portion would have been more consistent in their absence. If these are removed the flow of the story is not at all disturbed and becomes more consistent. Another striking feature of the portion is repetition and elaboration of the same legends narrated at their proper places in the purāṇa. Thus the story of bringing Gaṅgā on the earth by Bhagīratha and other details associated with it have already been given in the Bhuvanakośa section. The legend, covers only one chapter.[4]

---

[1] Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 21. 1.

---

1. Infra, pp. 306-307.
2. Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 23. 65.
3. E.g. Story of बाल and व्याघ्र. It covers verses from III. 25.50 to III. 25.77.
4. Anuṣaṅga-pāda, II. Chapter 18.

But in the present portion there are three chapters[1] devoted to it. The story of Rāma itself also occurs in the passages[2] dealing with the lineage of kings and Ṛṣis. As these passages closely conform to the purāṇic definition of pañcalakṣaṇa they must belong to an earlier date. The portion under discussion, on the other hand, because of its repetition and exhaustive treatment of the same legend seems to be a later redaction. It was possibly redacted in different periods and by different hands. This is why it is not free from contradictions. Thus an earlier chapter[3] narrates that Jāmadagnya Rāma took to penance after being instructed by Bhṛgu, his great grandfather. But a subsequent Chapter[4] which appears after a long interval relates that it was his family-preceptor who gave him such instruction.

ITS DIFFERENCES FROM THE MAHĀBHĀRATA—A textual comparison of this portion of Brahmāṇḍa-p. with Mahābhārata which depicts Jāmadagnya-legend in the Vanaparva and Sabhāparva shows that although the Kernel of the story is same in both the texts, yet Brahmāṇḍa-p has given much more elaborate form to it. Main incidents of the story run parallel in both of them. But the Brahmāṇḍa-p has made numerous alterations which point to their later insertion. Thus conflict of Rāma with Kārtavīrya is one of the important events of the legend it finds mention both in the Brahmāṇḍa-p as well as in the Mahābhārata. But as far as its details are concerned there is striking dissimilarity between them. According to the narrative of the Mahābhārata[5] when Kārtavīrya reached the hermitage of Jamadagni, he was received by the wife of the sage. On the other hand in the Brahmāṇḍa p[6] Ṛṣi Jamadagani himself receives the king. The Brahmāṇḍa-p has tried to polish the character of Kārtavīrya. According to the story as narrated in it the king was only tempted to take the

[1] Chapters 55 & 56.
[2] Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 66.56 ff.
[3] Ibid, III. 21. 56, 74 ff.
[4] Ibid, III. 25. 2.
[5] Mahābhārata, III. 116. 19 ff.
[6] Brāhmāṇḍa-p. III. 26. 43 ff.

cow. He does not play an active role in taking away the cow. Considering the fact that it was Brāhmaṇa's property he shows his hesitation It is only after the great persuasion by his wicked minister Chandragupta that he gives his consent. King Kārtavīrya himself is in the background and Chandragupta comes into conflict with the Ṛṣi.[1] In the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, the King 'inflated with the pride of his valour' makes no return to the hospitality shown by the Ṛṣi's wife and carries off with him by violence the calf of the cow.[2] The details of the conflict in the Mahābhārata are sketchy and cover small space. It only records the insult of Ṛṣi inflicted upon by the King who, in his attempt to take the calf of the milch-cow, cast down tall tress surrounding the hermitage.[3] It does not mention the death of the Ṛṣi at this stage. In the Brahmāṇḍa-p, on the other hand, King's minister proceeds to the hermitage of the sage along with a force. When he sees that the sage is not at all prapared to part with the cow and is proving obstruction in his way he orders his soldiers to do the needful. Their deadly attacks, ultimately result in the death of the Ṛṣi.[4] This as well as the following descriptions to the effect that Reṇukā was going to end her life but she was forbidden by 'invisible speech' and coming of Bhṛgu for putting life into the dead body of Jamadagni by means of Sañjīvanī Vidyā are conspicuous by absence in the Mahābhārata.[5] In the Mahābhārata Jamadagni dies once and finally. Accordingly Rāma makes his promise to uproot the Kṣatriya race and remains firm to it unto the last. The digging of Samantaka pond and performance of paternal rites with the blood of Kṣatriya race was only a part of it. In the Brahmāṇḍa-p as noticed above Jamadagni dies twice and as such Rāma makes his promises twice. The performance of the paternal rites by the blood of the Kṣatriyas was his second promise in addition to the former one of destroying the Kṣatriya race. The account of Mahābhārata being simple,

---

1. Ibīd, III. 28. 28. ff.
2. Mahābhārata III. 116. 20.
3. Ibid, III. 116. 21
4. Brahmāṇḍa--p III. 29. 10 ff.
5. Ibid, IIII. 30. 42 ff.

descriptive and original in form does neither condem nor support the act of Rāma either directly or in indirect way. But the Brahmāṇḍa-p reforms the original narration by adding that Rāma had to undergo 'prāyaścitta',[1] twice as a result of killing the multitude of Kṣatriyas and offering bloody rites to the Pitṛs. The above analysis shows that the Mahābhārata has preserved the original form which has been improved upon in the Brahmāṇḍa-p by the addition of adulterated passages.

CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ITS POLITY—Analysis of its passages from the point of view of usage of terms for political institutions also shows that this portion was inserted at a late stage. Among such terms which are significant for the present purpose mention can be made of '*Śāmanta*'. The word '*Sāmanta*' is no doubt expressive of an important political institution of ancient India. The Arthaśāstra[2] of Kauṭilya is the earliest treatise which mentions it. But its meaning, here, is somewhat different from its later sense of feudatory chief. It denotes 'independent neighbouring King'.[3] In the sense of feudatory chief the term occurs in later records. Thus the Barabar Hill-Cave Inscription describes father of Anantavarman[4] as 'Sāmanta-Cūḍāmaṇi' and his date is placed round about 500 A. D. In the Mandasore Stone Pillar Inscription, Yaśodharman[5] (*Circa* A. D. 525-35) claims to have subjugated the Sāmantas of Northern India. One of the obligatory duties of the Sāmantas in the 7th century A. D. was to provide troops for the lord.[6] In the Brahmāṇḍa-p, too, as its description denotes, the term *Sāmanta* expresses feudatory chief holding command of his army for the help of the king.[7] It appears, therefore, that the portion was incorporated not earlier than fifth-6th centuries.

[1] Supra. p. 308

[2] Arthaśāstra, 1. 6.

[3] R. S. Sharma, Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India, p. 212.

[4] C.I.I., III ; 49, 1. 4.

[5] Sircar, Select Inscriptions, p. 213.

[6] R. S. Sharma, Ibid, p. 213.

[7] It has been narrated that King of the Haihayas was encircled by his Sāmantas who were at the command of Akṣauhiṇī armies for the help of their lord-Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 38. 20.

MAHĀRĀJĀDHIRĀJA—In connection with the description of the Himalaya, it has been said in this portion that the lord of the mountains was looking like 'Mahārājādhirāja'.[1] This title is no doubt a substitute for Samrāṭ signified by 'Mahārāja Rājātirāja' in Kuṣāṇa records. It can be scarcely denied that the title of 'Mahārāja' instead of Mahārājādhirāja was applied even to those Gupta monarchs[2] who were enjoying full sovereignty. But usually they bore the title of Mahārājādhirāja which was indicative of their political superiority. It distinguished[3] the Gupta lords from the feudal chiefs who were politically subordinate to them and bore the inferior title of Mahārāja. Thus the political organisation with which the compiler was conversant points to the period of the Gupta Empire.

REFERENCE TO THE BHŪPA' OF KĀNYAKUBJA—In a general way the portion also refers to the 'Bhūpas' of Kānyakubja. It does not, however, give any special information save the fact that Rāma exterminated the 'Bhūpas' of various kingdoms including Kānyakubja.[4] But considering the fact that the passages of the portion are coloured with the political circumstances of their age, we have to take into account the period when Kānyakubja achieved the status of political centre. It is well known that Kānyakubja rose into prominence in Northern Indian politics not earlier than the period of the Maukhari-rulers who raised it to the rank of a capital city. As regards 'Bhūpa', this term can have little bearing in the present context, although one may be tempted to seek some sort of its affinity with 'Nṛpa' which has been frequently applied to the Maukharies[7] in their records. As the Maukhari kings rose into political prominence after the downfall of the Gupta-Empire, the portion seems to be a compilation of the post-Gupta period.

---

1. दृष्ट्वा जनैरासाद्यो महाराजाधिराजवत्, Ibid, III. 22. 58.

2. For example in the Mankuwar Buddhist Stone Image Inscription Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty as has been said to be Mahārāja, but in the Damodapur Copper Plate Inscription Title of Mahārājādhirāja has been applied to the same monarch. (Sircar. Select Inscriptions, pp. 288 and 283).

3. Beni Prasad, State in Ancient India, p. 290.

4. Brahmāṇḍa—p. III. 41. 32.

MAṆḌALEŚVARA— Mention of the term of Maṇḍaleśvara in the portion is also significant. The word used here is not without political importance, especially when we think it in the context of feudal atmosphere breathed, at a few corners, by the general description of the portion. If we consider the early meaning and subsequent changes in the meaning of Maṇḍala, whose formation Maṇḍaleśvara is, it would be seen that originally the term signified a diplomatic circle of twelve kings in relation to a Vijigīṣu or would-be-conqueror.[2] In the later periods its sense is modified. In the post-gupta records, it signifies an 'administrative unit' of a central government.[3] More correctly it is also interpreted in the sense of feudatory circle under the leadership of a feudal head[4] who paid his allegiance to the emperor specially in times of war. Judged from this consideration, the political organisation reflected by the portion conforms to the post-Gupta period.

BEARING OF THE VAIDARBHĪ RĪTI IN THE POETIC DESCRIPTION— Some interesting light on the present topic is also thrown by the style employed by the compiler of this portion. In its general treatment his style is simple, clear and descriptive. But at a few places it has become so much poetic that the compiler seems to have been a poet of high order. This fact is specially true of the description of the city constructed in the Āśrama of Ṛcīka due to the divine prowess of Ṛṣi's cow. The very first verse अथाश्रमं 'तत्सुरराजसद्मनिकाशमासीद्भृगुपुंगवस्य

---

1. As R. S. Tripathi (History of Kanauj, p. 31) has noticed 'Nṛpa was an un-assuming general title of the Maukharī Kings.

2. Beni Prasad, Ibid, p. 255.

3. R. C. Majumdar, History of Bengal, Vol. I, Chapter X.

4. For this Information I deeply owe to Dr. B. N. S. Yadava who has discussed various theories in regard to the interpretation of this word in his thesis 'Some aspects of the Society of Northern India in 12th Century A. D. His conclusion is supported by the line of Brahmāṇḍa-p. which narrates how the King of the Haihayas was being assisted by Sāmantas and Maṇḍaleśvaras who had encircled him along with their armies in the war waged against him by Jāmadagnya-Rāma, Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 38. 20.

विभूतिभेदैर्भवनैरनेकैरनन्यसाध्यं सुरभिप्रभावात्'[1] fulfills the conditions required for the Vaidarbhī Rīti which is characterised by 'माधुर्यंव्यञ्जकैर्वर्णैं रचना ललितात्मिका। अवृत्तिरल्पवृत्तिर्वा वैदर्भी रीतिरिष्यते॥'[2] It has been maintained by the poet throughout the description.

We should not forget, however, that the compiler was first a Purāṇakāra and then a Kāvyakāra. He was more concerned with the narration of the legend than the poetic imagination, the latter being only an accidental occurrance in the vast account. If this argument has any amount of truth, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the compiler drew his poetic inspirations from some great poet-in all probability from Kālidāsa who achieved the best success in the exposition of Vaidarbhī Rītī : 'वैदर्भीरीति संदर्शे कालिदासो विशिष्यते'. He seems to be indebted to the great master of Vaidarbhī not only in the adoptation of his style but also in the expression of ideas, and selection of phrases. Thus in the Kumāra-Saṁbhava, Kālidāsa describes how Brahmā proclaimed Himalaya to be the king of mountains when he saw that the latter was capable of supplying all the requisites of sacrifies: 'यज्ञाङ्गयोनित्वमवेक्ष्य यस्य सारं धरित्रीधरणक्षमञ्च, प्रजापतिः कल्पितयज्ञभागं शैलाधिपत्यं स्वयमन्वतिष्ठत्'[3] In close conformity with this description, the Brahmāṇḍa-p also describes that Himalaya was crowned king of mountains by Brahmā in order to have share of the sacrificial materials : 'अहोऽयं सर्वशैलानामाधिपत्येऽभिषेचितः, ब्रह्मणा यज्ञभाक्चैव स्थाने संप्रतिपादितः'[4] While describing the penance of Pārvatī, who was desirous of getting Śaṁkara as her husband, Kālidāsa says that she continued her penance on and on even in incessant stormy rains and lay on bare ground: 'शिलाशयां तामनिकेतवासिनीं निरन्तरास्वन्तरवातवृष्टिषु'[5] Brahmāṇḍa-p also narrates that Rāma was laying in unsheltered sites during rainy seasons, while he was propitiating

---

1. Ibid. III. 21. 1.
2. Sāhitya-Darpaṇa, IX. 2.
3. Kumāra-Saṁbhava, I. 17.
4. Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 22. 48, 49.
5. Kumāra-Saṁbhava, V. 25.

Śaṁkara by penances: 'अनिकेत: स वर्षासु'[1] In summers Pārvatī remained within blazing fires: 'शुचौ चतुर्णां ज्वलतां हविर्भुजां'[2] Rāma also practised his penance in the surroundings of kindled fires: 'ग्रीष्मे पञ्चाग्निमध्यस्थश्चचारैवं तपश्चिरम्'[3] In the month of Pauṣa Pāravatī passed her nights plunged in water: 'सहस्यरात्रीरुदवासतत्परा'.[4] Rāma, too had his abode in water in Śiśira-season 'शिशिरे जलसंश्रय:'.[5] Kālidāsa describes that the Ṛṣis flocked to see Pārvatī who was observing severe penances. He further adds that seniority of age is not taken into account in case of those who are advanced in religion: 'दिदृक्षवस्तामृषयोऽभ्युपागमन् न धर्मवृद्धेषु वय: समीक्ष्यते'[6] According to Brahmāṇḍa-p the penance of Rāma had created curiousity in the hearts of the sages and they approached there in order to see this ascetic even though they were far senior to him in knowledge and religion: 'ज्ञानकर्मवयोवृद्धा महान्त: शंसितव्रता: । दिदृक्षव: समाजग्मु: कुतूहलसमन्विता:।।'[7] The portion of the Brahmāṇḍa-p also betrays influence of Meghadūta. This can be very well noticed in the description of the Āśrama of Jamadagni, converted into city. About the multitude of places situated in the inner side of the city, it has been described that their hemispherical domes were touching the sky appearing while in the full moon: 'पूर्णेन्दुशुभ्राभ्रविषक्तश्रृङ्गै: प्रासादसंघै: परिवीतमंत:'[8] This description clearly suggests that the Purāṇakāra was well aquainted with Uttara-megha where we get almost an identical description to the effect that the domes of the palaces of the Alakā-city were touching the sky :—'अभ्रंलिहाग्रा: प्रासादा:'[9] The ladies of the Āśrama-city of Jamadagni too, were moving inconveniently on account of their heavy hips 'श्रोणीभाराक्रमणखेद'[10]—...... About the lady of the

---

1. Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 22. 7f.
2. Kumāra Saṁbhava, V. 20.
3. Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 22. 72.
4. Kumāra Saṁbhava, V. 26.
5. Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 22 71.
6. Kumāra -Saṁbhava V. 16-
7. Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 23. 2, 3.
8. Ibid p. III. 27. 57.
9. Uttarmegh, Verse 1.
10. Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 27. 5.

city to whom the Yakṣa sends his message it has been said that her gait was slow on account of the weight of her hips : 'श्रोणीभारादलसगमना'…….[1] Similarly the scene of the city-road on which the king of Haihayas was passing and was being honoured by the city maidens who were seated in their mansions (तं प्रस्थितं राजपथात्समंतात्पौरांगनाश्चन्दनवारिसिक्तैः । प्रसूनलाजाप्रकरैरजस्रमवीवृषन्सौधगताः सुहृद्यैः')[2] seems to have been influenced by Raghuvaṁśa which narrates how Aja (and Indumatī) got to the royal-road strewn with fresh offering of flowers and decorated with ornamental arches as brilliant as rainbow and the heat whereof was kept off by the shade of banners and was being locked upon by the city women through the golden windows of their mansion :

तावत्प्रकीर्णाभिनवोपचारमिन्द्रायुधद्योतिततोरणाङ्कम् ।
वर: स वध्वा सह राजमार्गं प्राप ध्वजच्छायनिवारितोष्णम् ॥
ततस्तदालोकनतत्पराणां सौधेषु चामीकरजालवत्सु ।[3]

The comparative analysis of the references of Brahmāṇḍa-p, as shown above, leaves little room for doubt that the lines of the present portion were composed in an age when Vaidarbhī-Rīti and its master had become highly popular and narrators and eulogists were trying to popularise their themes under the inspiration of Raghuvaṁśa, Kumāra-Saṁbhava and Meghdūta which are the best representative works of the Vaidarbhī.

BEARING OF RELIGIOUS PASSAGES : Religious elements contained in the portion also deserve consideration. It refers to Rādhā and describes her as the consort of Kṛṣṇa. Thus in Chapter 36 it makes use of the word 'Radhākānta', which qualifies 'Kṛṣṇa.' In Chapters 43ff. it has been further narrated how Pārvatī, being offended at the behaviour of Śiva's favourite devotee Jāmadagnya-Rāma who had broken one of the teeth of Gaṇeśa prepared to go to her father's house. In order to pacify her Śiva remembered Kṛṣṇa who came there along with Rādhā. It has been said that Kṛṣṇa did his best to appease 'Pārvatī'.

---

1. Ibid,, Verse 19.
2. Ibid, III. 27. 25, 26.
3. Raghuvaṁśa, VII. 4, 5 ab.

But it was not until Rādhā took the matter in her hand that Pārvatī could be tranquil. Can we imagine that these passages hint at the age when Rādhā was elevated to a higher position even than Kṛṣṇa's, which is degrading phase of Vaiṣṇavism of later times.[1] Rādhā has also been described as mother of universe which gains its lustre in her bristles. She is worshipped by the people at the time of creation, existence and dissolution of the earth.[2] This description is somewhat nearer to the Kṛṣṇajanma-khaṇḍa of Brahmavaivarta-p, which preaches worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and represents the latter as the mother of the universe.[3] As the above purāṇa belongs to later date[4] and the name of Rādhā and her worship do not figure in the early Vaiṣṇvite taxts, these passages are sufficient to indicate the comparatively late date of the portion.

The conception of Avatāra depicted in the lines of the portion also bestows later phases of Vaiṣṇavism. In various Vaiṣṇvite texts Kṛṣṇa has been conceived of an incarnation of Viṣṇu. But the treatment of the latter texts differs from the earlier ones in this topic which appears in a much more developed and complicated form in the later treatises of Vaiṣṇavism. For example in the Viṣṇu-p a hair of Viṣṇu is said to have incarnated as Kṛṣṇa i. e. Kṛṣṇa is an exceedingly small portion, of Viṣṇu ; but in the Bhāgavata he is called an Aṁśāvatāra[5] or Bhagavān himself. That the portion of the Brahmāṇḍa-p under discussion was compiled much later than the Bhāgavata is shown by the fact that Kṛṣṇa has been fully identified with Viṣṇu. He is god (Viṣṇu) himself. It is for the sake of Līlā (sport) that he assumes material form.[6] Kṛṣṇa has been raised here to a more elevated position than in the Bhāgavata. In the Bhāgavata Kṛṣṇa is one of the various incarnations of Viṣṇu including Jāmadagnya Rāma. According to the description of the Brahmāṇḍa-p. Rāma receiveś boon from Krśṇa that the former would be regarded in the world as the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. Thus the Brahmāṇḍa-p has established complete and inseparable identity between Kṛṣṇa and Vṣṇu and pre-supposes a much later phase of Vaiṣṇavism when Kṛṣṇa was thought to be the supreme spirit which assumes various shapes, Avatāras or Aṁśas for specific purposes.[1]

---

[1] R. G. Bhandarker, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Religious systems ; pp. 86. 87.

[2] Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 42. 8. 9.

[3] Hazra, Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p. 166.

[4] According to J. C. Roy it was first composed in the 8th cen. A. D. quoted by Hazra, Ibid, p. 166.

[5] Viṣṇu-p. V. 1, 59-60, Bhāgvata-p, X. 2, 9816; see also Hazra, Ibid, p.22.

[6] Brahmāṇḍa, p. III. 35. I4.

There are also passages in this portion, which exhibit traces of Tāntric practices. Thus in connection with the king of the Haihayas it has been said that he launched his hunting expedition after performing various rites which accorded with Tantra and Mantra.[2] The whole of Chapter 33. which has been devoted to the worship of Śrī Kriṣṇa, reveals considerable influence of Tāntric medium. Without going into the details of the Tāntric medium of worship prescribed in the Chapter, it may be argued that other purāṇas like Kūrma, Liṅga, Nāradīya and Skanda also reflect Tāntric influence. After scrutinising the chronology of their chapters, Hazra comes to the conclusion that the Tāntric influence began to be absorbed appreciably by the purāṇas not earlier than about 800 A. D.[3]

From what has been said above, it may be pointed out that in the present portion Brahmāṇḍa-p has preserved post-Gupta trends of the Hindu Culture. There is considerable logic in the suggestion that the separation of Brahmāṇḍa-p from Vāyu-p took place not earlier than 400 A. D. But it seems more reasonable to conclude that the process of the compilation extended over a number of centuries and the Brahmāṇḍa-p assumed its extant shape after incorporating the portion depicting Jāmadagnya-Rāma's legend sometime about 1000 A. D.

[1] H. H. Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, p. 91.

[2] Brahmāṇḍa-p. III. 26. 19.

[3] Hazra, *Ibid*, p. 139.

A TREATISE OF THE KĀRTIKAMĀHĀTMYA— ITS CHARACTER AND IMPORTANCE

By

Asoke Chatterjee

[कार्त्तिकमाहात्म्यस्यैकः कोशः कलिकाता-राजकीयसंस्कृत-महाविद्यालये विद्यते। अस्मिन् कोशे ३४ पत्राणि सन्ति, संवत् १८२१ वर्षे माघकृष्णचतुर्दश्यां चायं लिखित आसीत्। अस्मिन् कार्तिकमाहात्म्ये त्रयोदश अध्यायाः सन्ति। अस्य कोशस्य पुष्पिकासु 'इति श्रीपद्मपुराणे उत्तरखण्डे कार्तिकमाहात्म्ये' इति लिखितं विद्यते। परन्तु वर्तमानपद्मपुराणे यत् कार्तिकमाहात्म्यं समुपलभ्यते तत्तु अस्मात् कार्तिकमाहात्म्यात् सर्वथैव भिद्यते। मुद्रितरूपेण पृथगुपलभ्यमानं कार्तिकमाहात्म्यमपि भिन्नमेव।

अस्मिन् कार्त्तिकमाहात्म्ये विष्णुपूजाविधिः, श्रीकृष्णराधाव्रतं, नवधा कृष्णभक्तिः, विष्णुमन्दिरेषु दीपदानमित्यादयो विषया वर्ण्यन्ते। अत्र च कार्तिकमासः कृष्णस्य प्रियमासः स्वर्गस्य सोपानं च मतः।

अस्मिन् कार्तिकमाहात्म्ये मथुरामाहात्म्यप्रतिपादनं मथुराक्षेत्रस्य विशदं वर्णनं च वर्त्तते। अतो ज्ञायते मथुरायामेवायं ग्रन्थो रचित आसीदिति।]

It is very much interesting to observe that there are good number of treatises or so-called māhātmyas which claim to belong to a particular mahāpurāṇa or upapurāṇa; but unfortunately on an examination it is found that their claim cannot be supported, as neither the printed editions of these purāṇas contain them as such, nor the unpublished portions of these, which are still preserved in the manuscripts only, incorporate them. But some of these treatises deserve proper attention and scrutinising analysis, as they contain much valuable materials. In the following pages we would like to deal with such an interesting treatise which is known as Kārtikamāhātmya. Our study on this episode is based on the manuscript of Kārtikamāhātmya which is preserved in Calcutta Sanskrit College

Library (Ms. no. Purāṇa 12 –fols. 1-34). It consists of 13 chapters, although the last chapter has been called dvādaśodhyāyaḥ. The post-colophon (f. 34b) reads "Saṃvat 1821. Māgha Kṛṣṇa 14, Vā. Sūryaḥ, i.e.; it was copied on Sunday in the dark fortnight (kṛṣṇa-pakṣa) of the month of Māgha in Saṃvat 1821 i.e. 1764 A.D. It further reads 'likhitaṃ sadārāmeṇedaṃ kāśyāṃ śubham astu.' At the beginning there are four more folios which do not belong to this ms. These are the parts of some other manuscripts.

The manuscripts of the Kārtikamāhātmya which we have examined in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, do not claim to belong to the Padma-purāṇa. These are the two manuscripts, the first no.G. 5703, which claims to belong to the Brahma-purāṇa, has the last colophon which reads thus 'iti śrī brahma-purāṇe Kārtikamāhātmye aṣṭāviṃṣo'dhyāyaḥ' and the other is the manuscript, no.G. 1058, which claims to belong to the Sanat-Kumāra-Saṃhitā[1]

This Kārtika-Māhātmya has definitely come out of the pen of one or more Viṣṇu-worshippers. Here the sages are hearers and the speaker is Nārada, who reports to the sages what Brahmā had said to him[2] in 'harerārādhanavidhi' and 'śrīkṛṣṇa-rādhā-vrata'. Thus it is found that ultimately Brahmā eulogises Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Moreover there is an episode which also praises and glorifies the gift of a lamp in a Viṣṇu temple. It is as follows :

In ancient days, there was a king named Bradradhi in the time of Revata Manu. He had a son named Sudarśana who was well-versed in all the branches of learning. His capital was near the Mahendra mountain in the Narmadā region[3]. Once he went a-hunting and met a maiden, the daughter of a king of Gauḍa, and it was reported that from her father's kingdom she came here sporting with her attendants.[1] He married her and later on undertook the responsibility of kingship when his father retired. Once his wife, Madanālasā by name, was offering a lamp to the Viṣṇu-temple, when her husband asked her to come immediately. But she said that she was then engaged in offering lamps and explained to her husband the glorification of 'dīpadānam' narrating the story of her previous birth in which she was a mouse and chanced to turn up the wick of a mildly burning lamp placed by a sage in a Viṣṇu-temple on Godavari.[2] It is to be noted that prior to her arrival from Gauḍa, Viṣṇu-pūjā and dīpadāna did not prevail in that territory of Sudarśana (i. e. Narmadā region). We know that the system of the gift of lamps in shrines was current in South-India in the Godāvarī-territory in particular, from about the end of the ninth century A. D.[3]

---

[1] See H.P. Sastri, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 5. pp. 192 and 287.

[2] Nārada uvāca : idameva mayā pṛṣṭo brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ Kārtikamāhātmya, f. 1 b

[3] Kārtikamāhātmya, f, 2a, rājadhānī mahendra-narmadā-taṭe

---

[1] Ibid. f. 2a Gauḍarājaśca ko' pyāsīt tat sutā sā varāṅganā.
sakhībhiḥ saha krīḍantī narmadātīramāgatā //

[2] Ibid. 3a

asti godāvarītīre harerāyatanaṃ śubham /
daṇḍakeṣu mahāpuṇyaṃ nānāmuni-niṣevitam //
vedavrato muniḥ kaścit tatrāgatyātha kārtike /
dīpaṃ prajvālayāmāsa.............................. //

[3] Two of the Vattaluttu Inscriptions (no. 81 and82 of the Government epigraphists collection for 1896) which are found in the Sthāṇunātha temple at Suchindram and belonging to the reign of the Cola King Parakeśarivarman, i.e. the Cola King Parantaka I record the gift of a lamp to the Śiva temple and two lamps to the two shrines of Viṣṇu respectively (Epigraphia Indica, V. 99. 42-43).

Two more inscriptions of Parantaka I were found in the Śiva temple in a village named Tirunamanallur in the South Arcot district and at Tirukkalukkuṇram respectively. One records the gifts of two lamps by a servant of Kokkilaṇaḍi, the queen of Parantaka I and the mother of his son Rājādityadeva (Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 133). The other records the gift of a perpetual lamp to the Tirukkalukkuṇam temple (Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 281).

Two inscriptions belonging to the reign of Kulottuṅga Cola I record the gift of lamps to temples. One declares the grant of a perpetual lamp to (the temple of) Śiva at Śvetāraṇya ('nitya-dīpān nyadhatta śvetāraṇye Śivaya' Ep. Ind. Vol. V, p. 104). The second records the gift of a lamp to the temple of Śiva at Adhipura (ādhipura-vāsi-maheśvarāya prādāt prabaddha-timir-aika-ripuṃ pradīpam, Ep. Ind. Vol. V. p. 106).

It is evident that Parantaka I and Kulottuṅga had ruled

Its adherence to Viṣṇu-worship is further proved by its amazing silence on other sectarian gods and goddesses. If argumentum ex silentio is considered a primary factor that stands against such proposition, its abundant mention of the name of Rādhā and frequent reference to Rādhā worship[1] corroborate the stamp of Vaiṣṇava influence on it. How even a great devotee of Śiva failed to influence or coerce his wife, a life-long worshipper of Viṣṇu, to give up the Vaiṣṇava dharma[2], has been pointed out by the interesting episode of Jalandhara and Vṛndā who became in her next birth the Tulasī plant and always resided near Viṣṇu. Moreover nine-fold devotion to Kṛṣṇa tends to show its Vaiṣṇava influence. It has been said—

śravaṇaṃ kīrtanaṃ pūjā sarvakarmārpaṇaṃ smṛtiḥ /
paricaryā namaskāraḥ pra(?pre)ma ātmārpaṇaṃ harau //
ityevaṃ navadhā bhaktiḥ kṛṣṇe tat prītaye'pi ca /
karaṇīyaṃ kimasyāsti na kṛtaṃ niḥśreyasaṃ tvidam // (f. 11a)

Śālagrāma, a medium of worship of Viṣṇu, has not only been referred to more than once but a nice interesting story on the origin of Śālagrāma has been fabricated. According to this, Vedāślaṣaḥ (a sage) who was practising penance on the bank of the Ganges, cursed a heavenly damsel sent by Indra to become a river (Gaṇḍakī) which would contain Śālagrāma stones. The river is considered more or less akin to those sacred places of India which are famous for their association with Kṛṣna-worship.

---

from 907 to 935 and 1070-1120 A. D. respectively (see K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas, p. 111, 134 and 3012).

One inscription (No. 338 of 1902) of Śaka-saṃvat 876 records the gift of a lamp by the queen of a Chief of Muṇai (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 137).

It is needless to multiply examples.

[1] Namo rādhikāyai f. 9b.
Bṛṣabhānuriti khyāto gopanando vraje vaset /
tasya kanyā varārohā radhānāmnī purā'bhavat // f. 13b
rādhā mahāpremabharākule f. 13b.
tataḥ priyatamā viṣṇoḥ rādhikā gopikāsu ca f. 13b
rādhikāṃ pratimāṃ kṛtvā pūjajet kārtike tu yā /
tasya tuṣyati supritaḥ śrīmān dāmodaro hariḥ //
nṛtyati rādhikā tathā

Dvārakā, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana are all sacred places of Kṛṣṇa-worship. It has been said that by the taking of Viṣṇu's name or even remembering, it purges one of all sins. The festivals rādhāṣṭamī, gopāṣṭamī etc. mentioned in the work are all vaiṣṇava celebrations.

It is highly probable that this manuscript has been originally written in Mathurā. The major portion of the third chapter describes the glorification of Mathurā.[1] It has been introduced suddenly and is not related, in any way, to the subjects mentioned before. Vivid descriptions of Mathurā and its surrounding territories rule out the fact that it has been written by a devoted admirer of Mathurā, residing in any other part of India.

It propounds in clear and unambiguous terms the Vaidika-dharma. According to it 'that what has been sanctioned by the Vedas is dharma and what has been denied by it is adharma'. Dharma is also substantially made up of good manners and customs prevalent at different times and places,[2] Dharma, it has been further stated, is of two kinds, pravṛtti-mūlaka and nivṛtti-mūlaka i.e. you do a good thing and acquire dharma and do not perform a sinful act, and thereby also dharma is acquired. Dayā has been suggested as the basis of dharma. Some acts which incur piety and merit have been stated. These are 'anna-dāna' 'ekādaśī-vrata-vidhi', 'atithi-sevā', 'vāpī-kūpādi-khanana' and others. But above all of them stands the month of Kārtika which is itself the step to Viṣṇu-loka.[3]

[1] Kārtike mathurā sevā f. 8a.
mathurāyām naraḥ snātvā f. 8a.
kārtike devo mathurāyām f. 8a.
sulabhā mathurā loke f. 8a.
mathurā sarva-maṇḍalā f. 8a.
kārtike mathurāyām f. 8a.
mathurāyāṃ labhet muktim f. 8b.
mathurāyāṃ parihāsavyājena......mathurāmāgatasya f. 8b.

[2] veda-praṇihito dharmo hyadharmas-tan-niṣedhitaḥ /
sadācārāc-ca vijñeyo deśakāla-vibhāgaśaḥ // f. 10b.

[3] kārtike bhūmī-śāyī yo brahmacārī haviṣya-bhuk /
palāla-patraṃ bhuñjāno dāmodaram-athārcayet // etc. f. 2a.

Kārtika has been regarded as dear to Kṛṣṇa and it inspires attachment to Kṛṣṇa and yajña-tapa-dāna-phalam.

A note on the prevailing caste-system of the society is also given. The line 'rājānaḥ rājaputrāśca brāhmaṇāḥ śūdra-yonayaḥ[1]' tends to suggest that the brāhmaṇas born of Śūdra-mother were allowed to worship Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and offer lamps in the temples of Hari or in the sky equally with others. It was not altogether impossible for a śūdra to reach the status of brāhmaṇahood. He can attain heaven and become a brāhmaṇa if he performs some meritorious deeds[2].

The tradition goes that the number of the ever-living persons (cirajīvin) is seven, but the list in f. 18a includes Mārkaṇḍeya and makes it eight, e. g.

Markaṇḍeyo balir-vyāso hanūmāṃśca bihhīṣaṇaḥ /

kṛpo drauṇiḥ paraśurāmah aṣṭaite cirajīvinaḥ //

Among the social customs one interesting feature is that the wives leaving their beds in the morning would whirl round their heads a branch of the apāmārga plant (Achyaanthes aspera[3]).

There is a controversy with regard to the particular part of the Padma-purāṇa to which it belongs. From the colophons of its chapters it is understood that it claims to belong to the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa[4]. But according to one chapter, it has been taken from the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the same. But this is immaterial as its contents are found neither in the Pātāla nor in the Uttarakhaṇḍa. Kārtika-māhātmya as contained in the latter is widely different from this work. Similarly the printed kārtika-māhātmya is in no way related to it.

---

1. F. 17a
2. Kapilāyāḥ payaḥ pītvā bhuktvā patre tatheśvare /
   brāhmaṇaṃ ca(brāhmaṇasya) padaṃ spṛṣṭvā śūdro narakamṛcchati
   (brāhmaṇam icchati) 11 f. 14a.
3. f. 14b
4. See the colophon of the eighth chapter 'iti śrīpādma-purāṇe uṭṭarā-khaṇḍe—
   kārtika-māhātmye vṛata-vidhi nāmāṣṭmodhyāḥ' fo 1. 27a.

लिङ्गपुराणान्तर्गतानि निर्वचनानि

वि. वा. परांजपे

[In this article the writer has given some etymological explanations of certain words, from the Liṅga-Purāṇa. He divides these words into five catagories; viz. (i) words used as synonyms of the *Mahat* (the second *tattva* or principle of the Sāṅkhyas, (ii) the names of the five rivers of the Pañcanada region, which owing to their such etymologies have given rise to certain Paurāṇika stories or legends, (iii) the words Prāṇa, Apāna etc. which are derived from the same root with different suffixes, (iv) words having similar etymologies in such ancient works as Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Nirukta etc., and (v) words such as Rākṣasa, Yakṣa, Vyāla, Gandharva, Deva etc. of which the Liṅg-Purāṇa gives quite uncommon etymologies.]

पुराणानां सर्वसंग्राहकं स्वरूपं सर्वैरेव विद्वद्भिः अंगीकृतम्। लिङ्गपुराणे च ज्ञानं, भक्तिः, कर्म, सदाचारः, योगः, सांख्यं, तान्त्रिकी पूजा, वैदिकी च, दानं, क्षेत्रमाहात्म्यमिति नैके विषयाः उल्लिखिताः सन्ति। परं विविधेषु स्थलेषु "ग्रामं गच्छन् तृणं स्पृशति" इति न्यायेन विविधानां शब्दानां निर्वचनानि कृतानि उपलभ्यन्ते। केषांचित् निर्वचनानां संग्रहं कृत्वा तेषां पञ्चसु विभागेषु विभागं प्रदर्श्यते।

प्रथमतः सांख्यैरंगीकृतस्य महत्तत्त्वस्य बुद्ध्यपरपर्यायस्य यानि विविधानि नामानि नैकैः शास्त्रकारैः विविधेषु ग्रन्थेषु प्रयुक्तानि लिङ्गपुराणकर्त्रा एकीकृत्य तेषां निर्वचनं प्रदर्श्यते तदेव स्वीकुर्मः। पूर्वार्धे अष्टमाध्याये सप्ततितमे चाध्याये तेषाम् एव शब्दानां महत्तत्त्वपर्यायभूतानां निर्वचनानि उल्लिखितानि। तेषां स्वरूपं कीदृशमिति पश्यामः।

अष्टमोऽध्यायः	सप्ततितमोऽध्यायः
१–विस्वरः–विस्वरीभावो द्वन्द्वानाम् ।	नास्ति—
२–महत्–अग्रजः सर्वसत्त्वानां महान् यः परिणामतः ।	२–तत्त्वानामग्रजो यस्मात् महांश्च परिणामतः । विशेषेभ्यो गुणेभ्योपि महानिति ततः स्मृतः ।
३–प्रज्ञा–यत्प्रमाणगुहा प्रज्ञा ।	३–यस्माज्ज्ञानानुगश्चैव प्रज्ञा तेन स उच्यते ।
४–मनस्–मनस्तु मनुते यतः ।	४–मनुते सर्वभूतानां यावच्चेष्टाफलं ततः सौक्ष्म्यात्तेन विभक्तं तु येन तन्मन उच्यते ।
५–ब्रह्मन्–बृहत्वात् बृंहणत्वाच्च ।	५–बृहत्वात् बृंहणत्वाच्च भावानां सकलाश्रयात् । यस्माद्धारयते भावान् ब्रह्म तेन निरुच्यते ।
६–चितिः–सर्वकर्माणि भोगार्थं यच्चिनोति चितिः स्मृता ।	६–ज्ञानादीनि च रूपाणि बहुकर्मफलानि च । चिनोति यस्माद् भोगार्थं तेनासौ चितिरुच्यते ।
७–स्मृतिः–स्मरते यत् स्मृतिः सर्वम् ।	७–वर्तमानव्यतीतानि तथैवानागतान्यपि । स्मरते सर्वकार्याणि तेनासौ स्मृतिरुच्यते ।
८–ख्यातिः–ख्यायते यत्त्वितिख्यातिः ।	८–ख्यातिः प्रत्युपभोगश्च यस्मात्संवर्तते ततः । भोगस्य ज्ञाननिष्ठत्वात् तेन ख्यातिरिति स्मृता ।
९–ईश्वरः–सर्वसत्त्वाधिपः सर्वं विजानाति यदीश्वरः	९–साक्षात्सर्वं विजानाति महात्मा तेन चेश्वरः ।

१०—मतिः– मनुते मन्यते यस्मात् मतिः	१०—बिभर्ति मानं मनुते विभागं मन्यतेऽपि च। पुरुषो भोगसंबन्धात् तेन चासौ मतिः स्मृतः ॥
११—बुद्धिः—अर्थं बोधयते यच्च बुध्यते बुद्धिरुच्यते।	११—बुध्यते पुरुषश्चात्र सर्वान् भावान् हितं तथा। यस्मात् बोधयते चैव बुद्धिस्तेन निरुच्यते ॥
१२—संविद्–संविद् वै विन्दते यतः	१२—कृत्स्नं विन्दते ज्ञानं यस्मात् माहात्म्यमुत्तमम्। तस्माद्विन्देर्विदेश्चैव संविदित्यभिधीयते ॥
१३—पुर् – नास्ति	१३—यः पूरयति यस्माच्च कृत्स्नान् देवान् अनुग्रहैः। नयते तत्त्वभावं च तेन पूरिति चोच्यते ॥

उपरितनानि निर्वचनानि पूर्वार्धे एव स्थलद्वये स्थितानि, अष्टमाध्यायगतानि संक्षिप्तानि सप्ततितमाध्यायगतानि च विस्तृतानि सन्ति एतावानेव भेदः। एते महत्तत्त्वस्य वाचकाः शब्दाः केन शास्त्रकृता कदा कुत्र प्रयुक्ता इति अवश्यं द्रष्टव्यम्। इदं तु स्पष्टमेव यत् लिङ्गपुराणकर्ता विविधशास्त्रेभ्यः शब्दान् संगृह्य एकत्र प्रदर्शयतीति। अन्यथा समानार्थानां शब्दानां प्रदर्शनं प्रयोजनशून्यमेव भवेत्। तत्रापि "ईश्वरः" "पुर्", "ब्रह्मन्" इत्येतेषां बुद्धितत्त्ववाचकत्वं विशेषतो विचारमर्हति।

लिङ्गपुराणस्य पूर्वार्धे ४३तमे अध्याये जप्येश्वरवर्णनं वर्तते। तस्य माहात्म्यवर्णनप्रसङ्गे पञ्चनदक्षेत्रम् उल्लिखितम्। तत्रैव च नदीपञ्चकस्य नामानि सनिर्वचनानि प्रदर्शितानि यथा :—

१—जरोदका —यस्माज्जरोदकादेव प्रवृत्ता त्वं महानदी।
तस्माज्जरोदका पुण्या भविष्यसि·········॥
२—त्रिस्रोतस् — तानि स्रोतांसि त्रीण्यस्याः स्रोतस्विन्योऽभवंस्तदा।
नदीं त्रिस्रोतसं देवो भगवानवदत्········ ॥

३–वृषध्वनिः— ननाद नादात्तस्माच्च सरिदन्या ततोऽभवत् ।
वृषध्वनिरिति ख्याता देवदेवेन सा नदी ॥

४–स्वर्णोदका— यस्मात्सुवर्णान्निःसृत्य नद्येषा संप्रवर्तते ।
स्वर्णोदकेति तामाहुः…………… ॥

५–जाम्बूनदी— जाम्बूनदमयाद् यस्मात् द्वितीया मुकुटात् शुभात् ।
प्रावर्तत नदी………… ॥

उपरितनानां पञ्चानां नदीनां निर्वचनानि पर्यालोच्य स्पष्टमिदं भवति यत् पौराणिकाः केवलं नाम्नां निर्वचनेन विविधाः कथाः निर्मातुं प्रभवन्तीति । यथा वृषस्य नादात् नदी उत्पन्ना इत्येका कथा । मुकुटात् जाम्बूनदमयात् प्रवृत्ता अपरा इत्येवम् । को वा जप्येश्वरः, कुत्र वा पञ्चनदक्षेत्रमिति विमर्शनीयं विद्वद्वरैः ।

प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागप्रदर्शनमात्रं व्याकरणेन सम्पाद्यते । निरुक्तनिर्वचनेन तु अर्थस्य सम्यगवबोधो भवति । एतादृशानि निर्वचनानि अर्थविशदीकरणात्मकानि । तानि च यथाः—प्राण अपानो व्यान उदान इति शरीरगतवायुबोधकशब्दचतुष्टये धातुः "अन्" समान एव । उपसर्गस्तु प्रतिशब्दं भिद्यते । परं तावता सम्यगर्थबोधो न भवति । लिङ्गपुराणे च कथमेतेषां शब्दानामर्थः प्रदर्शित इति अवलोकनीयम् ।

अ० श्लो०

१–प्राणः–प्रयाणं कुरुते यस्मात् वायुः प्राण इति स्मृतः (पू० ८.६३)
२–अपानः–अपानयत्यपानस्तु आहारादीन् क्रमेण च (पू० ८.६३)
३–व्यानः–व्यानो व्यानामयत्यंगं व्याध्यादीनां प्रकोपकः (पू० ८.६४)
४–उदानः–उद्वेजयति मर्माणि उदानोऽयं प्रकीर्तितः (पू० ८.६४)
५–लिङ्गं–लयनात् लिङ्गमित्युक्तं तत्रैव निखिलं सुराः
६–पिशाचः–पिशाचाः पिशिताशनात् । (पू० ७०.२३२)
७–स्थाणुः–यस्मादुक्तः स्थितोऽस्मीति तस्मात् स्थाणुरिति स्मृतः । (पू०७०.२२४)

उपरिनिर्दिष्टानि निर्वचनानि अर्थं स्पष्टयित्वा लक्षणमिव प्रदर्शयन्ति इति विशेषः ।

सूताः पुराणकर्तार विविधानां विद्यास्थानानामध्येतारः आसन् । वेदाः, ब्राह्मणानि, उपनिषदः, भाष्याणि, टीकाः इत्यादिषु प्रदर्शितानि निर्वचनानि बहुत्र पुराणेषु उद्धृतानि भवन्ति । एतादृशानि कानिचन निर्वचनानि अधः प्रदर्श्यन्ते ।

लिङ्गपुराणम् ।

१–समानः–समं नयति गात्राणि (पू० ८-६७)	१–यदुच्छ्वासनिश्वासावेतावाहुती समं नयति स समानः । प्रश्नो० ४.४
२–रुद्रः–रोदनात् खलु रुद्रत्वं तेषु वै समजायत ।	२–सोऽरोदीत्...यदरोदीत् तद् रुद्रस्य रुद्रत्वं । श० ब्रा० २. ६. ३. ७
३–पुरुषः–पुरे शेते पुरं देहं तस्मात्पुरुष उच्यते (पू० २८-५)	३–प्राण एष स पुरि शेते इति पुरिशयं सन्तं प्राणं पुरुष इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण । गो० ब्रा० १.१
४–नक्षत्र–न क्षीयन्ते यतस्तानि तस्मान्नक्षत्रता स्मृता (पू० ६०.२६)	४–तन्नक्षत्राणां नक्षत्रत्वं यन्न क्षियन्ति । गो० ब्रा० २.१
५–आदित्यः–आदानान्नित्यमादित्यः तेजसां तपसामपि (पू० ६१.३)	५–आदित्यः कस्मात् आदत्ते रसान् आदत्ते भासं ज्योतिषाम् । निरुक्तं २-४-१
६–ओम्–अवनात् ओम् इति स्मृतः (पू० ७०.९८)	६–अवतेष्टिलोपश्च उणादि, १-१४७ सायण ऐ०ब्रा०२५.७ टीकायाम्) ।
७–ऋषिः–ऋषिः सर्वगतत्वाच्च (पू० ७०.८०)	७–ऋष गतौ ऋषिः मन्त्रद्रष्टा उणादि निरुक्तञ्च ।
८–विष्णुः-विष्णुःसर्वप्रवेशनात् पू० ७०.९७	८–तद् यदेव विशतीव तद्धास्य वैष्णवं रूपम् । कौषी० ८.३

९–अग्निः-अग्रजोऽग्निरिति स्मृतः　　९–अग्रणीर्भवति । अग्रं यज्ञेषु प्रणीयते ।
निरु० ७.४.१

इतः परं कानिचन निर्वचनानि एतादृशानि संगृहीतानि यानि लिङ्गपुराणकर्त्तुः स्वीयान्येवेति वक्तुं शक्यम् । अयं विभागः "लोकविलक्षणनिर्वचनम्" इति संज्ञाप्यते मया ।

अ० श्लो०

१–अम्भस् –भान्ति यस्मात् ततोऽम्भांसि (पू० ७०.२२१)

२–राक्षसः–अम्भांस्येतानि रक्षामो उक्तवन्तस्तु तेषु ये ।
राक्षसा नाम ते तस्मात् । (पू०, ७०.२२५)

३–यक्षः–येऽब्रुवन् यक्षमोऽम्भांसि तेषां हृष्टाः परस्परम् ।
तेन ते कर्मणा यक्षाः—(पू० ७०.२२५)

४–व्यालः–व्यालात्मानः स्मृता वालाः (पू० ७०.२३०)
शंकरस्य केशा एव सर्वरूपतां प्राप्ताः इति प्रदर्शितम् ।

५–अहिः–हीनत्वाद् अहयः स्मृताः । (पू० ७०.२३०)

६–पन्नगः–पतत्वात् पन्नगाश्चैव (पू० ७०.२३०)

७–गन्धर्वः–धयतीत्येष वै धातुः पानत्वे परिपठ्यते ।
धयन्तो जज्ञिरे वाचं गन्धर्वास्तेन ते स्मृताः ॥　(पू० ७०.२३४)

–गन्धर्वशब्दः प्रायःगृध् धातोः गन्धधातोर्वा व्युत्पाद्यते । सायणस्तु गां+ध्वर् इति वा गां+धुर् इति व्युत्पादयति । गां+धयति इति धातोः व्युत्पादनपूर्वमेव ।

८–पूरुषः–यस्मात् पूर्यां स शेते च तस्मात् पूरुष उच्यते । (पू० ७०-१०३)

९–शिलोच्चयः–शयानत्वात् शिलोच्चयः । (पू० ७०-१३५)

–सुलभां सर्वैरंगीकृतां शिलानाम् उच्चय इति व्युत्पत्तिं परित्यज्य किमिति शयानत्वात् शिलोच्चयः ?

१०—देवः—यतोऽस्य दीव्यतो जाताः तेन देवाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
धातुर्दिविति य. प्रोक्तः क्रीडायां……… ॥ पू० ७०-२०३

सर्वसमादृतां दिव्धातोःप्रकाशनार्थकात् व्युत्पत्तिं परित्यज्य लोकविलक्षणं निर्वचनमत्र दर्शितम् ।

एतावता लिङ्गपुराणगतानि कानिचन निर्वचनानि संगृह्य यथामति विमर्शः कृतः । इतोऽप्यधिको विमर्शः अस्मिन् विषये विधेयः सुधीभिः ।

KASHMIRIAN VERSION OF THE MATSYA PURĀṆA

By

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

[मत्स्यपुराणस्य काश्मीरपाठसरणिरत्र विमर्शिता । सन्त्यस्याः पाठसरण्याः कतिचिद् विशेषा मत्स्यपुराणस्य काश्मीरकोशेषूपलभ्यमानाः । द्विविधाश्च मत्स्यपुराणस्य काश्मीरकोशाः प्राप्यन्ते—शारदालिप्यां लिखिताः, काश्मीरीलिप्यां च लिखिताः । अत्र मत्स्यपुराणस्य द्वौ शारदाकोशौ चतुरश्च काश्मीरीलिपिकोशानाश्रित्य मत्स्यपुराणस्य काश्मीरपाठसरणेः केचिद् विशेषाः समीक्षिताः ।]

The Matsya-Purāṇa occupies a very important place among the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas. The Vāmana-Purāṇa regards the Matsya as the chief or the best of the Purāṇas (**'मुख्यं पुराणेषु यथैव मात्स्यम्'** 12.48a). It must have been a very popular Purāṇa, hence its manuscripts are available in almost every part of India, from kashmir to the extreme South, and from Assam to Maharashtra, written in almost every literary script of India—Devanāgarī, Śāradā, Nevārī, Assamese, Bengāli, Oria, Maithilī, Telugu, Kannada, Grantha, Malayalam etc. We have even a Persian translation of this Purāṇa, a manuscript of which has been procured from Rome (Italy) for our Purāṇa Department.

Different scripts in which the Matsya-manuscripts are available have given us several versions of the Matsya-Purāṇa. Some of these versions widely differ from the others; e. g. the *Grantha-version* of this Purāṇa represented by a Grantha-manuscript[1] which was procured from the Palace Library Trivandrum (Keral) and collated at Madras for the Purāṇa-Department, differs in text and extent from other versions. The *Kashmirian version* of this Purāṇa has also some very remarkable peculiarities deserving our notice.

---

[1] The detailed description and special features of the text of this Ms. are given by Dr. V. Raghavan in *Purāṇa*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 42ff.

The Kashmirian version of the Matsya-Purāṇa is represented by Kashmirian manuscripts written in *Śāradā* as well as in *Kāśmīrī* (i. e. the Kashmirian Devanāgarī, several letters of which resemble the letters of the Śāradā script). *Kāśmīrī*-manuscripts (to be referred to here as K) are generally regarded as copied from some *Sāradā* manuscripts (to be referred to here as Ś), and hence they are assigned a secondary place in comparison with the Śāradā Mss. But a close scrutiny of the corrupt readings of some Ś-Mss. may reveal to us the fact that certain Ś-Mss. are themselves the direct or indirect copies of some obscure or non-extant K-Mss.[2] In the course of my study of some Ś-Mss. of the Matsya-Purāṇa, I have found that certain corrupt readings of these manuscripts become intelligible only with the help of the corresponding correct readings of K-Mss., as I have already shown in my article referred to in the footnote 2 here. So, in studying the nature and peculiarities of the Kashmirian version of the ancient Sanskrit works like the Purāṇas the evidence of both kinds of Kashmirian manuscripts—Ś and K—should be regarded as equally important.

For the critical edition of the Matsya-Purāṇa the following two Kashmīrian manuscripts have been collated here in the Purāṇa-Department :—

1. The *Śāradā* Ms., No. 4481, of the Scindia-Oriental Institute, Ujjain—(to be referred to here as **UŚ**).[3]
2. The *Kāśmīrī* (Kashmīrian Devanāgarī) Ms., No. 4646, of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.—(To be referred to as **UK**).

Besides these two collated Mss., the following four Kashmirian manuscripts of the Matsya-Purāṇa have also been consulted for this article :—

---

[2] See my article 'Devanāgarī Source of the Ujjain Śāradā Manuscript of the Matsya Purāṇa' published in *Purāṇa*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 163-174.

[3] I have discussed the textual peculiarities of this UŚ Ms. in *Purāṇa*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 58-71.

1. The *Śāradā* Ms. deposited in the manuscripts-Department of the Banaras Hindu University Library—(To be referred to as **BŚ**).[4]
2. The *Kāśmīrī* Ms. No. 3601 (Steine-Catalogue), deposited in the Raghunath Sanskrit Library, Jammu (Kashmir); folios 425—(To be referred to as **JK$_1$**).
3. The *Kaśmīrī* Ms. No. 3854, of the Raghunath Sanskrit Library, Jammu; folios 262.—(To be referred to as **JK$_2$**).
4. The *Kaśmīrī* Ms. No. 3920, of the Raghunath Sanskrit Library, Jammu, with a Sanskrit Commentary by a Kashmirian Pandit; folios 685.—(To be referred to as **JK$_3$**).

On the basis of these six Kashmirian manuscripts we may have a fair idea of the nature and peculiarities of the Kashmirian version of the Matsya-Purāṇa. The following peculiarities may be noted :

1. SOME SPECIAL READINGS OF THE KASHMIRIAN VERSION

There are certain readings of the Matsya-Purāṇa text which are found in the above mentioned Kashmirian manuscripts only. These readings may be regarded as peculiar to the Kashmirian version. Some of the important readings which have been found belonging exclusively to the Kashmirian manuscripts are given below :

(१) प्रचण्डताण्डवाटोपप्रक्षिप्तोत्क्षिप्तदिग्गजाः ।
भवन्तु विविधाकारा हरेर्विघ्नौघशान्तये ॥१॥

पातालादुत्पतिष्णोर्मकरवसतयो यस्य पुच्छाभिघाता-
दूर्ध्वं ब्रह्माण्डखण्डव्यतिकरमभवन् व्यत्ययेनापराद्धाः ।
सोऽव्ययान्मत्स्यावतारः सकलवसुमतीमण्डलं व्यादधानस्-
तस्यास्योदीरितानां ध्वनिरपहरतादश्रियं वः श्रुतीनाम् ॥२॥

---

[4] For the detailed description and study of this BŚ Ms. see my article in *Purāṇa*, Vol. II, pp. 120-127.

अजोऽपि यः क्रियायोगान्नारायण इति स्मृतः ।
त्रिगुणाय त्रिवर्गाय नमस्तस्मै स्वयंभुवे ॥३॥
नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
देवीं सरस्वतीं व्यासं ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥४॥

(Ān. Ed., Adh. 1)

In UŚ these four opening ślokas precede the śloka 'सूतमेकाग्रमासीनं नैमिषारण्यवासिनः । मुनयो दीर्घसत्रान्ते पप्रच्छुर्दिव्यसंहिताम् ॥' with which the actual text of the Matsya begins. These same four opening ślokas are also given in the other Kashmirian Mss. described above, with this difference that in the four Kashmirian Mss. (BŚ, UK, JK$_1$ and JK$_2$) the UŚ reading '०हरेर्विघ्नौघशान्तये' (in Śloka 1d) is replaced by the reading ०विघ्नौघपरिशान्तये, but JK$_3$, like UŚ, reads '०हरेर्विघ्नौघशान्तये'. Another difference between UŚ and the other Kashmirian Mss. (BŚ, UK...) is this that the 3rd (अजोऽपि etc.) and the 4th (नारायणं etc.) ślokas of the UŚ are transposed in them (BŚ, UK...). Of these four opening ślokas in UŚ the first two are benedictory (आशीरात्मक), the third is of the nature of obeisance or salutation to God (नमस्कारात्मक), the fourth (नारायणं नमस्कृत्य etc.) is the famous śloka of the Bhāgavatas with which each of the book (*Parvan*) of the Mahābhārata begins, and which is placed in the beginning of several Purāṇas also. It means that after bowing to Nārāyaṇa and Nara and also to Goddess Sarasvatī and Sage Vyāsa, one should begin the recitation or study of the *jaya* (a common name applied to the Epics and the Purāṇas, according to Nīlakaṇṭha). This śloka, therefore, should precede also the actual beginning of the Matsya-Purāṇa with the Śloka (सूतमेकाग्र०). This order of these four ślokas, as given above in UŚ, therefore, is quite appropriate and natural. The readings in the portions underlined above in the four ślokas are found exclusively in the Kashmirian manuscripts, and in no other Northern or Southern manuscripts.[5]

---

[5] Besides these Kashmirian Mss, 5 other Northern Mss., and 3 Southern Mss (out of the 30 Mss. collated) have also given all of these four opening ślokas. Majority of the printed editions also have given these four ślokas. In place of

The order of the 3rd and the 4th ślokas (as given above) is confined exclusively to UŚ, all other manuscripts (including Kashmirian Mss. BS and UK) have reversed the order.

(२) एवमुक्तोऽब्रवीद् राजा प्रणम्य स पितामहम् ।
एकमेवाहमिच्छामि त्वत्तो वरमनुत्तमम् ॥१४॥
अस्य मत्स्यस्य सर्वस्य स्थावरस्य चरस्य च ।
भवेयं रक्षणायालं प्रलये समुपस्थिते ॥१५॥ (Ān. Ed., Adh. 1)

'अस्य मत्स्यस्य' is the reading found exclusively in the Kashmirian Mss. (BŚ, UŚ, UK, etc.) only. All other Mss. and also all the printed editions read 'भूतग्रामस्य' here. So it may be safely assumed that the reading 'अस्य मत्स्यस्य' (in place of the reading 'भूतग्रामस्य') is peculiar to the Kashmirian version of the Matsya-Purāṇa. It must be clear from the context that this Kashmirian reading 'अस्य मत्स्यस्य' does not refer to the fish which Manu tried to protect and nourish and which a little later on turned into the Great Fish. The word 'मत्स्य' here has been figuratively used for the 'afflicted world', as is clear from the following marginal note written in the Śāradā letters on folio 2A of UK—

'अस्य स्थावरजङ्गमात्मकस्य सर्वस्य जाज्वल्यमानप्रलयाग्निना तप्तस्य मत्स्यस्य निर्जलस्थले परिलुण्ठितेन मत्स्येन सदृशस्य.'

Similarly, there are also some other readings which have been found to be contained in the Kashmirian manuscripts only. In this limited space, only a few of these readings may be noted as follows :—

MP, *Ān. edn.*

1.13ab बभूव वरदश्चास्य वर्षायुतशते गते ।
,, तरुवद् यश्च ,, ,, (UŚ, UK,...)

---

the portions underlined above the readings in all the non-Kashmirian Mss. are— 'भवन्तु विघ्नभङ्गाय भवस्य भवतां भुजाः' (1cd), '०दूर्ध्वं ब्रह्माण्डखण्डव्यतिकरविहितव्यत्ययेनापतन्ति' (2b), 'विष्णोर्मत्स्यावतारे सकलवसुमतीमण्डलं व्यश्नुवानास्' (2c), 'त्रिवेदाय' (for the Kashmirian reading 'त्रिवर्गाय' 3c in UŚ, 4c in others), 'चैव (for the Kashmirian reading व्यासं' which is also the reading in two other Northern Mss. [D 7 and D 9], and also in Kannada and Telugu edition s).

50.85d	वसुदामा बृहद्रथात्	
	वासुदेवो ,,	(UŚ, UK,...)
57.5a	प्राप्य पक्षं शुभं शुक्लं	(UŚ, UK)
	,, ,, ,, कृष्णं	
77.2a	माधवस्य सिते पक्षे	
	माधवस्यासिते पक्षे	(UŚ, UK,...)

[Mark the predilection for the *Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa* in the Kashmirian Mss., which may perhaps be due to the influence of Śaiviśm there.]

72.12ef	तिलपात्रं हिरण्यं च ब्राह्मणाय निवेदयेत् ।	
	विल्वपात्रं ,, ,, ,,	(UŚ, UK,...)
121.64cd	हेमकूटस्य पृष्ठे तु सर्पाणां तत्सरः स्मृतम् ।	
	,, ,, शर्यावान्नाम तत्सरः ।	(UŚ, UK,...)
123.54b	प्रविष्टाश्चैव परस्परम् (पृथिव्यादयो विकाराः)	
	धिष्ण्याश्चैव ,,	(UŚ)
	धिष्ण्यभूता; ,,	(UK)
.55a	यस्मात्प्रविष्टास्तेऽन्योऽन्यं	
	यस्माद् धिष्ण्याश्च तेऽन्योऽन्यं	(UŚ, UK,...)
124.4d	अवनात्तु रविः स्मृतः ।	(Mss. also)
	अवनात् स अविः स्मृतः	(UŚ, UK,...)

Instances like these may give us some idea of the peculiar readings of the Kashmirian version. But a few special readings alone are not sufficient to mark the distinctive character of a version. It is also the arrangement and the extent of the text and also the style of the Adhyāya-Colophons which may also be considered as important in determining the peculiarity of a version.

II. PECULIARITIES IN ARRANGEMENT OF THE TEXT

(a). *Splitting of certain Ān. Adhyāyas.*

In my article on 'the Collated Manuscripts of the Matsyapurāṇa' published in *Purāṇa* (Vol. I, No 1, pp. 101-111), I have given a table showing in details which Adhyāyas of the Ān. ed. are combined and which are split in all the thirty collated Mss.

From a perusal of this table it will be clear that while no Adhyāyas are combined exclusively in the Kashmirian Mss. (UŚ and UK, which are indicated there as Ś$_1$ and D$_1$ respectively), there are several Ān. Adhyāyas which are split in Ś$_1$ and D$_1$ only (BŚ agrees with D$_1$), and in no other Northern or Southern Mss. Thus the Ān. Adhyāyas 44, 114, 154, 183 are split in Ś$_1$ only, and Adhyāyas 47, 50, 113, 140, 153 are split in both the Kashmirian Mss., Ś$_1$ and D$_1$, and in no other non-Kashmirian Mss. Ś$_1$ (= UŚ) goes even so far as to divide the Matsya-purāṇa-Adhyāya 154 (Ān. ed.)—the biggest Adhyāya of about 600 ślokas—into eleven smaller Adhyāyas as follows :—

Ān. Adh. 154 (Ślokas 588)—

इति श्रीमात्स्ये महापुराणे कुमारसम्भवे चतुष्पञ्चाशदधिकशततमोऽध्यायः ।
Coresponding Adhyāyas in Ś$_1$ (UŚ)—

149. इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे कुमारसम्भवे देवस्तुतिर्नामैकादशोध्यायः ॥१४९॥
(Folio 154 A) ; Śls. 56 (Ān., 154. 1-57)

150. ०णे कुमारसम्भत्रे कालरात्रिप्रेषणं द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥१५०॥
(Folio 154 B) ; Śls. 24 (Ān., 154, 58-84)

151. ०णे उमासम्भवो नाम त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ॥१५१॥
(Folio 156 A ; folio 155 B left blank) ; Śls. 26 (Ān., 154. 85-111 a b).

152. ०णे कुमारसम्भवे नारदहिमालयसंवादो नाम चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः ॥१५२॥
(Folio 158 A): Śls. 88 (Ān., 154. 111 cd—205 ab).

153. ०णे कामदाहे रतिस्तुतिर्नाम दशमोऽध्यायः ॥१५३॥
(Folio 159 B) ; Śls. 69 (Ān., 154. 205 cd—274 cd).

154. ०णे देव्यास्तपोवर्णनं षोडशोऽध्यायः ॥...॥
(Folio 160 B) ; Śls. 40 (Ān., 154. 275—316 ab),

155. ०णे देवीविवाहे शैलजासप्तर्षिसंवादो नाम सप्तदशोऽध्यायः ॥१५५॥
(Folio 161 B) ; Śls. 62 (Ān., 154. 316 cd—379 ab).

156. ०णे शैलजाविवाहे सप्तर्षिवाक्यं नामाध्यायोष्टादशमः ॥१५६॥
(Folio 162 B) ; Śls. 45 (Ān., 154. 379 cd—424).

157. ०णे शिवयोर्विवाहवर्णनं नामैकोनविंशोऽध्यायः ॥१५७॥
(Folio 164 B) ; Śls. 64 (Ān., 154. 425-496).

158. ०णे शिवयोः क्रीडावर्णनं विशोऽध्यायः ॥१५८॥
(Folio 165 B) ; Śls. 54 (Ān., 154. 497-553).

159. ०णे कुमारसम्भवे वीरकपुत्रीकरणं नामैकविंशः ॥१५९॥
(Folio 166 B) ; Śls. 32 (Ān., 154. 554-588).

In no other manuscript has this Ān. Adh. (I54) been divided. And unless we doubt the genuineness of this Śāradā MS., it may be supposed that it represents a different textual tradition of the Kashmirian version, dividing the Ān. Adh. 154 into so many Adhyāyas and having some peculiar readings of its own, some of which have been noted above, and also dividing the Matsya-text into two Khaṇḍas.[6] If this supposition be true, then BŚ, UK and other allied Kashmirian manuscripts may be said to represent another textual tradition of the Matsya in Kashmir.

(b) *Different arrangement of certain portions of the text*

As Pargiter remarks in tha Introduction (p. v.) of his '*Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*,' the Matsya adds only the *later Pauravas* to the *ancient Paurava* line in connection with the ancient genealogies, and introduces all the rest of the later Kali-dynasties separately in some of its latest chapters. All the non-Kashmirian Mss. and also the printed editions of the Matsya adopt this order of the genealogical text. The An. ed. of the Matsya gives the account of the *ancient Pauravas*, from Pūru down to the *sāmprata* King Adhisomakṛṣṇa from 49.1 to 50.67, and then after a short preface in the form of the interlocution between the Ṛṣis and the Sūta (Śl. 68-76) it adds the account of the *later Pauravas* starting from the *sāmprata* King Adhisomakṛṣṇa down to the close of the dynasty with Kṣemaka, in the last portions (Śl. 77-81) of the Adh. (50). The genealogy of the *ancient Ikṣvākus*, from Ikṣvāku down to Śrutāyu who was killed in the Bhārata War, has been given in Ān. edn. 12. 25c-27, while the *later Ikṣvākus*, from Bṛhadbala down to Sumitra, the last King of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, have been dealt with in Ān. edn., 271. 4-17b. All the non-Kashmirian Mss. also, like the Ān.

---

[6] See my article 'Study of the Peculiarities of the Ujjain Śāradā MS.' referred to in fn. 2 above.

edn., have separated the account of the *later Ikṣvākus* from the *ancient Ikṣvākus* as well as from the *later Pauravas* by more than 200 intervening Adhyāyas dealing mostly with non-genealogical topics such as vratas, tīrthas etc. The two Kashmirian Mss., UŚ and UK, however, are the only exceptions which have been found to deal with the *later Ikṣvākus* in the proper place ; i. e. immediately after the account of the *later Pauravas,* which order of the Ikṣvāku genealogy in the Matsya is quite in accord with the Sūta's announcement there, made by him after completing the account of the *ancient Pauravas,* in the following words :—

अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि भविष्या ये नृपास्तथा ।
ऐडैक्ष्वाकान्वये चैव पौरवे चान्वये तथा ॥
(Ān., 50. 73c-74b)

Thus according to this śloka of the Matsya the account of the *later Ikṣvākus* should be given along with the account of the *later Pauravas,* as is the case in UŚ and UK. This arrangement of the Kashmirian Mss. is also in conformity with the order of the genealogical accounts of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* (where the *later Pauravas* are given in 99, 271-280b, and the *later Ikṣvākus* immediately after it in 99. 280c-293c ; Ān. ed), and also of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa (*later Pauravas* in IV, 21 and the *later Ikṣvākus* immediately after this, in IV. 22). UŚ has divided the Ān. Adh. 50 (which gives aaccounts both of the ancient and the later Pauravas) into two separate Adhyāyas, viz. 53 (= Ān. 50. 1-67) and 54 (= Ān. 50. 68-89). The former (53) deals only with the *ancient Pauravas,* and the latter (54) gives the accounts of the *later Pauravas* and the *later Ikṣvākus* togetter. The account of the later Ikṣvākus in UŚ covers $9\frac{1}{2}$ ślokas which correspond to 271. 4-17b of the Matsya-purāṇa and IX. 12. 9c-1bd of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa. But in the Bhāgavata the *later Ikṣvākus* have been given immediately after the *ancient Ikṣvākus,* and not after the *later Pauravas.*

Moreover, it is only the Kashmirian Mss, UŚ and UK, which connect the account of the *later Ikṣvākus* with that of the *ancient Ikṣvākus* by mentioning that *Bṛhadbala,* the first king of the later Ikṣvāku line, was the son of *Srutāyu* (the last of the ancient Ikṣvakus)—

श्रुतायोरभवत्पुत्रो नाम्ना राजा बृहद्रथः (बृहद्बलः ?) ।
बृहद्बलस्य भविता पुत्रो नाम बृहद्ब्रणः ॥

All the non-Kashmirian Mss., like the Ān. ed., begin the account of the later Ikṣvākus abruptly in their last chapters, without connecting it in any way with the former Ikṣvākus. Thus we see that only the Kashmirian Mss. have given accounts of the later Ikṣvākus in the proper place which perfectly tallies with the statement of the Matsya-purāṇa itself, as discussed above.[7]

III. DETAILED COLOPHONS

The tendency of the Kashmirian Mss. for elaboration is further exhibited in giving, in the Adhyāya–colophons, elaborate details of the topics of Adhyāyas dealing specially with the *vratas* and *tirtha-māhātmyas*. By way of illustration two colophons from UŚ are given below. It is interesting to note how full of details they are :—

UŚ-Adh. 197 (Ān. Adh. 190)—इति मत्स्यपुराणे नर्मदामाहात्म्ये यन्त्रेश्वर-राज-मेघनाद-आम्रातकेश्वर-करञ्जतीर्थं-दानतीर्थ-ब्रह्मावर्त-अङ्गारेश्वर-कपिलातीर्थं-करञ्जतीर्थ-कुण्डलेश्वर-पिप्पलेश्वर-विमलेश्वर-देवशिला-पुष्करिणीतीर्थयात्रा-नर्मदास्तोत्रमाहात्म्यं नाम पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥१९७॥ (Folio 202).

As against this the Ān. ed. gives simply as **'नर्मदामाहात्म्ये नवत्यधिकशततमोऽध्यायः**, and the India office Ms. (E. 3548) as **'नर्मदा-माहात्म्यं नाम'**.

The colophon of the next UŚ-Adh. (198) corresponding to the Ān. Adh. 191 is also full of details :—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे नर्मदामाहात्म्ये शूलभेद-भीमेश्वर-नारदेश्वर-आदित्येश्वर-घृत-मधूत्सव-नन्दिकेश्वर-वरुणेश्वर-पञ्चायतन-कोटितीर्थं-बहुसेक-अगस्त्येश्वर-शक्रतीर्थं-ऋषितीर्थं-नारदतीर्थ-अमरकण्ठ-रावणेश्वर-ऋणतीर्थं-वटेश्वर-भीमेश्वर-बुरीकच्छ(तुरीकच्छ or उरीकच्छ?)[8]-

---

[7] For further details see my article referred to in fn. 3 above.

[8] Cf. also the footnote of my article 'Source of Ujjain Śarada Manuscript on page 167 of *Purāṇa*,' Vol. I, No. 2.

सोमतीर्थ-पिङ्गलेश्वर-सुरतिकेश्वर-ह्लादिकेश्वर-गङ्गावतरण-नन्दितीर्थ-दीपेश्वर - व्यासतीर्थ-वरडीतीर्थ-एरण्डीसंगम-वेदतीर्थ - सुवर्णशिलक - इक्षुमतीसंगम - स्यन्दतीर्थ - आङ्गीरसतीर्थ-लाङ्गलतीर्थ-संगमेश-अयोनिसंगम-पाण्डवेशक-वार्तिकेश्वर-चन्द्रभागतीर्थ-ब्रह्मावर्तं (?)-कपिलातीर्थ (?) - नर्मदेश-आदित्यायतन-गर्गेश्वर-नागेश्वर-तपोवन-कुवेरभवन-कालेश्वर-यमतीर्थं-रामतीर्थं-सोमतीर्थं-सुम्भतीर्थं-विष्णुतीर्थं-ब्रह्मतीर्थं-तामसेश्वर-अमाहकतीर्थं - सिद्धेश्वर - लिङ्गतीर्थं-कुसुमेश्वरादीनां माहात्म्यं नाम षष्ठोऽध्यायः ॥१९८॥

UK and BŚ also have the same detailed colophons of such Adhyāyas. Such details in the colophons may be due to the predilections of the scribes, but still they give an indication of the tendency for the detailed colophons which belongs only to the Kashmirian Mss.

IV, SMALLER EXTENT OF THE MATSYA-TEXT

The extent of the vulgate text of the Matsya-Purāṇa, available in its printed editions, is 290 Adhyāyas (Jivananda-ed.) or 291 Adhs. (Ān. ed.). The Kashmirian manuscripts on the other hand, generally contain a smaller number of topics and consequently a smaller extent of the Matsya-text. The extent of the above-mentioned six Kashmirian Mss. is as follows :—

UŚ—This Ms. is incomplete. It has 231 folios, and ends in śloka 117 of its Adh. 233, corresponding to śloka 135 of the Ān. Adh. 227 (which deals with the *daṇḍa-prakaraṇa* of the *rāja-dharma* chapters).

UK—The extent of the text of this Ms. is its 233 Adhyāyas (Ān. Adhs. 263), covering 398 folios plus 3 *śodhapatras*. It ends thus :—

एवंविधं तु यल्लिङ्गं भवेत्तत्सार्वकामिकम् ।
अन्यथा यद्भवेल्लिङ्गं तदशस्तं प्रशस्यते ॥
एवं रत्नमयं कुर्यात् स्फाटिकं पार्थिवं तथा ।
शोभादारुमयं वापि यद्वा मनसि राजते ॥

(Ān. ed., 263. 24 cd—25ef.).

After this it has the last colophon as follows :—

इति मत्स्यपुराणे शिवतार्चानुकीर्त्तनं २३३ शुभमस्तु ।
समाप्तमिदं मत्स्यपुराणमिति शुभम् ॥

JK₂—Its extent is also the same as that of UK. It also ends at the Ān. Adh. 263, and has the same ślokas at the end—'एवंविधं·····यद्वा मनसि राजते ।।', after which it has almost the same colophon as follows :—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे देवतार्चानुकीर्त्तनं २०३३।
समाप्तमिदं मत्स्यपुराणमिति शुभम् ।।

BŚ—This Ms. also, like UK and JK$_2$, ends at the Ān. Adh. 263, having the same Ślokas as given above, and also almost the same colophon in the end :—

इति मत्स्यपुराणे देवतार्चाऽनुकीर्तनं ।। समाप्तमिदं मत्स्यपुराणम् ।। संवत् ३६ (=probably the Saptarśi Saṁvat 4836).

The scribe at first inadvertently copies the sentence 'समाप्तमिदं मत्स्यपुराणम्' from his exemplar, but then as an afterthought strikes it off and remarks—अस्य पुस्तकस्येतः परं शिष्टं प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा प्रासादनिर्माणं भविष्यद्राजकीर्त्तनं महादानादि च ।। श्रीशाकः १६८३ ।। मत्स्यपुराणं समाप्तम् ।।[9]

Thus, the extent of these three Kashmirian Mss. is the same. All these three allied Mss., copied, perhaps, from the same original, most probably represent some old Kashmirian textual tradition of the Matsya-purāṇa the text of which extended only upto the end of the Ān. Adh. 263 (that is upto **'देवतार्चानुकीर्त्तनम्'**). The post-colophon remarks of the BŚ scribe indicate only the extent of the Matsya text as known in his own times, and not the extent of the ancient text contained in his exemplar.

JK₃—The text of this Ms. extends upto the end of the Ān. Adh. 273 (**'भविष्यद्राजानुकीर्त्तनम्'**). It ends in the last ślokas of the Ān. Adh. 273 as follows :

कीर्त्तिता द्युतिमन्तस्ते य एतान् धारयेन्नरः ।
लभते स वरान् पञ्च दुर्लभानिह लौकिकान् ।।

---

[9] See the plate of the last page of BŚ, appended against page 163 of *Purāṇa*, Vol. I, No. 2.

आयुः कीर्तिं धनं स्वर्गं पुत्रवांश्चाभिजायते ।
धारणाच्छ्रवणाच्चैव परं स्वर्गस्य धीमतः ॥

The post-colophon statement is as follows :—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे चतुर्दशसाहस्र्यां संहितायां भविष्यद्राजानुकीर्त्तने कलौ भविष्यद्वंशानां वर्णनं नाम तृतीयोऽध्यायः ।। आदितोऽध्यायाः ३०५ ।। समाप्तमिदं मत्स्यपुराणम् ॥

It has a Sanskrit Commentary by a Kashmirian Pandit, which ends as follows :—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराण-भावार्थदीपा समाप्ता ।

The larger number (305) of its Adhyāyas as compared with the number of the Ān. Adhyāyas (291) may be due to the splitting of the several bigger Adhyāyas of the Ān. ed.

JK_1—The text of this Ms. extends upto the Ān. Adh. 288 (रत्नधेनुप्रदानविधिः), which is the last but one of the महादान chapters. It ends thus :—

इति श्रीमत्स्यपुराणे रत्नधेनुविधानम् ।। समाप्तोयं ...॥

Thus the extent of the text of all the above mentioned six Kashmirian Mss. is shorter than that of the vulgate text. If these six Mss. be taken to represent the Kashmirian version of the Matsya-Purāṇa, then it may be said that the Matsya text of the old Kashmirian version was shorter than the present vulgate text.

We may note the absence of the 'पुराणफलश्रुति' in the end of the texts of all the six Kashmirian Mss. examined above. This may be due to the absence of the पुराणफलश्रुति in the Kashmirion version of the Matsya-Purāṇa, or it may be surmised that the पुराणफलश्रुति forming the concluding portion of the Matsya-text in the Kashmirian version has been lost, and that the scribes, of their own accord, wrote the समाप्तिसूचना after the end of the available text. The former possibility (i.e. the absence of पुराणफलश्रुति in Kashmirian version of the Matsya), however, seems to be more plausible.

SOME LINGUISTIC ABERRATIONS IN THE MATSYAPURĀṆA

BY

NILMADHAV SEN

[अस्मिन् लघुनिबन्धे लेखकमहोदयेन मत्स्यपुराणस्य ७७-१८० अध्यायेषु विद्यमानानां विवृत्ति-द्विःसन्ध्यादियुक्तानाम् असाधूनां (अपाणिनीयानां) प्रयोगाणाम् उदाहरणानि प्रस्तुतानि। एवं च, अक्षराधिक्ययुक्तानां, ह्रस्वस्वरस्थाने दीर्घस्वरवतां, दीर्घस्वरस्थाने ह्रस्वस्वरप्रयोगवतां च छन्दसामप्युदाहरणान्यत्र प्रदत्तानि।]

[*N. B.* References are to the ASS edition. Bl = Baṅgabāsī Press Edition in Bengali characters]

This short and therefore incomplete study, based as it is on Chapters 77 to 180 only of the *Matsyapurāṇa* comprising about $\frac{2}{5}$ of the whole work, will deal with the following topics, viz., Hiatus, Double Crasis, Irregular Saṃdhi, (metrical) Lengthening and Shortening of Vowels and some Metrical Peculiarities.*

1. HIATUS

Hiatus between two *pādas* is a very common feature of the Epics and Purāṇas, but that between two words within the same *pāda* is much rarer. Their ratio in the MP is about 5:2. Internal hiatus is extremely rare in all the stages of Sanskrit. The examples of internal hiatus from the aforesaid chapters of the MP are :

Chandra-ṛkṣa grahāḥ, 128. 28 ; *atharva-ṛg-yajuḥ-sāmnām*, 145. 62 ; *trailokya-ṛddhi-sampannaḥ*, 153. 159 ; *pūrva-uttara-phalgunyau*, 124. 56 ; (Bl. version *v, l. pūrvottarā ca phalgunyau*). *Cf. nārāyaṇa-uro-gataḥ*, Mbh. I. 16. 35.

---

* In this connection see also the Sanskrit article 'पुराणेष्वपाणिनीयप्रयोगाः' Published in '*Purāṇa*', Vol. IV. No. 2 (July, 1962) pp. 277-297.

—*Ed.*

2. Double Crasis

Double Crasis is another noteworthy feature of the Epics and Purāṇas. In many cases, however, the second member is an imperfect or aorist form, and in a few others the first member is a nominal stem normally ending in *as*. These and a few more I shall call 'Dubious Cases of Double Crasis', as all these can be explained otherwise also. The rest can be regarded as genuine cases of double crasis. The examples are :

Nipetur ye tadutthâmī (∠ *tadutthāḥ amī*), 77.13 (*v.l.* in Bl) ; *pūṣṇêty uttarataḥ* (∠ *pūṣṇe ity*), 79.7 ; *sarvātmanêti* (°*tmane iti*), 79.8 ; *sumhôttarāḥ*, 114.44 ; *sarôdakam*, 120.21 ; *bindusarôdbhavāḥ*, 121.42 ; *sâiveha keśavêty uktaḥ*, 122.18 ; (*samudro'pi vardhate*) *śaśinôdaye*, 123.32 ; (*prītayaḥ*) *pracurâbhavan*, 131.12 ; *praviṣṭâsmaccharīrāṇi*, 131.27 ; (as *v.l.* for *praviṣṭāḥ sma śarīrāṇi*) ; (*alakṣmyā*) *vyāpitâsurāḥ*, 131.38 ; *vāryamāṇâpi te*, 131.47 ; *airāvatādyâpahṛtāḥ*, 133.10 ; *harayo' pahṛtâsuraiḥ*, 133.11 ; *turagâbhavan*, 133.31 ; *pratodoṃkāra evāsīt*, 133.36 ; *bhūyôdīritavīryās te*, 138.6 ; *hā kāntêti* (∠ *kānte iti*), 138.29 ; (This may be regarded as a case of the use of the nom. sg. for voc.) ; *te tārakākhyâbhigatāḥ*, 138.38 ; *surâvatasthuḥ*, 138.56 ; *bho'surendrâdhunā sarve*, 139.2 ; *te...pramathâtipramāthinaḥ*, 140.3 ; *sôdyamya karam*,† 140.30 ; *patanti pramathârṇave*, 140.39 ; *ārtavâbhavan*, 141.14 ; *haviryajñârtavāś ca ye*, 141.16 ; *agniṣvāttârtavāḥ*, 141.17 ; *kumbhīpākêddhavāluke*, 141.70 ; *brahmiṣṭhâgastayo hy ete*, 145.115 ; *tasyâkaron* (∠ *tasyāḥ akaron*) *mahān*, 146.64 ; *tasyâdūṣayad* (∠ *tasyāḥ adū*°) *āśramam*, 146.66 ; *vṛkānanâyudhadharāḥ*, 154,535 ; *kṛṣṇêti mahākālêti* (∠ *kṛṣṇe iti mahākāle iti*), 155.8 ; *vipadôdayaḥ*, 158.4 ; *sôtpannamātro*†...*mānasaḥ sutaḥ*, 171.9 ; *virajaskâbhavan*, 172.48 ; *ekapādârdhapādāś ca*, 173.26 ; *na viduḥ soma devâpi*, 176.5 ; *mūrkhâgamena rahitâpi*, 180.79.

3. Irregular Saṃdhi

A few interesting cases will be recorded under this heading. In one case *-as* of the nom.sg. is changed to *-o* even before a sibilant, that is to say, here *-o* has been used as the nom.sg. of an *a*–stem, as in Middle Indo-Aryan. The *visarjanīya* of *eṣaḥ* has once elided before an *a* following, resulting in a hiatus. In two cases the long *ā* has been treated as short in saṃdhi. The examples in order are :

---

† Cf. *so'ci lope cet pādapūraṇam*, Pāṇini, 6.1.134.

> *Uvāca vācā śailendro snehagadgadavarṇayā*, 154.293.
>
> *eṣa apūrvām tanum āśritaḥ*, 162.15 (This, however, may be regarded as a corrupt reading for *eṣo apūrvām*).
>
> *pitā te 'ṅgiraso* (*te āṅgi°*) *muniḥ*, 167.43 ; *kathitas te 'nupūrvyeṇa*, 171.65 (*v.l te' nupūrveṇa*).

There are at least two cases in which –*as* has been changed to –*a* before the sonant *ṛ* as if the latter was pronounced as *r* plus a vowel (*ri* or *ru*). The examples are :

> *namo ṛṅmaṇḍalāya*, 98.4 ; *varṣādi-caturo ṛtūn*, 101.57 ; (in Bl. version. *v. l.* °*caturas tv ṛtūn*).

The most queer example under this section is *pitarortavo 'rdhamāsāḥ* (for *pirara ṛtavo 'rdha°*) at 141.15. Most probably it is a corrupt reading which I would like to *pitarartavo 'rdhamāsāḥ* with double crasis after the loss of the *Visarjanīya* of *pitaraḥ*.

4. (METRICAL) LENGTHENING AND SHORTENING OF VOWELS

A few noteworthy cases of both lengthening and shortening of vowels are found to occur in the MP, as in the Epics and other Purāṇas and, more rarely, in Classical Sanskrit also. Except two, all the cases of shortening are for the *Diiambic* close of the posterior *pāda* of the Śloka metre. Examples are :

(a) Lengthening of vowels

paśyed apī mānadhano'tibhaktyā, 92. 34 ; and *tārakāmaya* (for *tārakamaya*) with *saṃgrāma* at 178.21 and other places.

(b) Shortening of vowels

gaṅgā-yamuna-saṃgame, 105.18 (Diiamb.) ; *gaṅgā-yamuna-saṃgamam*, 107.7 (Diiamb.) ; *anantakaro 'riṇām*, 133. 62 (Diiamb) ; *devayoninām*, 147.7 (Diiamb.) *kumāri-vadhyo'si* 152.32 : *sura-nāri-*

kulānām 154.478 ; *tad rahasyaṃ maharṣiṇām,* 164.20 (Diiamb.) ; *tat paraṃ paramarṣiṇām,* 164.21 (Diiamb.) ; *vedān gāyatri-sambhavān* 171.24 (Diiamb.).

5. SOME METRICAL PECULIARITIES

Under this rubric we shall register (a) one case of hypermetric foot and (b) a few very interesting cases of metrical loss of syllables. It may be observed here that I have not found any catalectic foot in the chapters under study.

(a) Hypermetric Foot

udagāyato mahāśailo, 113.35.

(b) Metrical Loss of syllables

vibhāvaryāstam eti ca (for *vibhāvaryām astam*) 124.28 ; puruṣaḥ *sindu-tilakaḥ* (for *sindura-tilakaḥ*), 131.29 (Cf. *mudga-dhanuṣmatā* for *mudgara*—Rām., VI. 37.14) ; *antamāyāpti-gūḍhaḥ* (for *ananta°*), 154.13 ; *pratiprastāram* (for *pratiprasthātāram*) *eva ca,* 168.8 and *anantarormibhiḥ* (for *anantaram ūrmibhiḥ*), 168.4.

पुराण-सूक्तयः

(वामनपुराणात्, वेंकटे० संस्क०)

नीचोद्धतान् सत्पुरुषा यथाश्रयान्,
प्रवृद्धमूलान्यपि संत्यजन्ति । (१।१९)
सतां च चित्तं हि दिशां मुखैः समं,
वैमल्यमायान्ति शशाङ्ककान्तयः । (२।४ उ.)
श्रेयो धर्मः परे लोके इह च क्षणदाचर । (११।१३ पू.)
मा म्रियस्व मृतस्येह नष्टा भवति वै कथा । (१७।५०)
चञ्चलं हि मनुष्यत्वम् (३४।१३ क)
निर्मलः स्वर्गमायाति (३४।१५ ग)
आत्मा नदी संयमपुण्यतीर्था
सत्योदका शीलशमादियुक्ता ।
तस्यां स्नातः पुण्यकर्मा पुनाति
न वारिणा शुद्ध्यति चान्तरात्मा ॥ (४३।२५)
संरोहतीषुणा विद्धं वनं परशुना हतम् ।
वाचा दुरुक्तं बीभत्सं न प्ररोहति वाक्क्षतम् ॥ (५४।७)
वरं प्राणास्त्याज्या न वत परहिंसा त्वभिमता । (५९।२९ क)
न पश्यतीह जात्यन्धो रागान्धोऽपि न पश्यति ।
न पश्यति मदोन्मत्तो लोभाक्रान्तो न पश्यति ॥ (५९।३७)
यो धर्मशीलो जितमानरोषो
विद्याविनीतो न परोपतापी ।
स्वदारतुष्टः परदारवर्जी
न तस्य लोके भयमस्ति किंचित् ॥ (६६।२९)
यो धर्महीनः कलहप्रियः सदा
परोपतापी श्रुतशास्त्रवर्जितः ।
परार्थदारेप्सुरवर्णसंगमी

सुखं स विन्देन्न परत्र चेह ॥ (६६।३०)
धर्मो हि परमा गतिः ॥ (६६।३५ ख)
धर्मस्तु गदितः पुंभिस्तारणं दिवि चेह च।
पतनाय तथाऽधर्म इह लोके परत्र च ॥ (६६।३६)
कृतापराधानपि हि क्षमन्ते गुरवः शिशून् ॥ (७७।३९ उ.)
अवश्यं भाविनो ह्यर्था न विनश्यन्ति कर्हिचित् । (७७।४६)
पुत्रमित्रकलत्रार्थे राज्यभोगधनाय च ।
आगमे निर्गमे प्राज्ञो न विवादं समाचरेत् ॥ (७७।४७)
यथा यथा समायान्ति पूर्वकर्मविधानतः ।
सुखदुःखानि दैत्येन्द्र नरस्तानि सहेत् तथा ॥ (७७।४८)
आपदामागमं दृष्ट्वा न विषण्णो भवेद्वशी ।
सम्पदं च सुविस्तीर्णां प्राप्य नो धृतिमान् भवेत् ॥ (७७।४९)
धनक्षये न मुह्यन्ति न हृष्यन्ति धनागमे ।
धीराः कार्येषु च तदा भवन्ति पुरुषोत्तमाः ॥ (७७।५०)
पण्डितो नावसीदति (७७।५१ घ)
भाग्यक्षयेऽर्थाः क्षीयन्ते भवन्त्यभ्युदये पुनः ।
क्षीणस्यास्य शरीरस्य चिन्तया नोदयो भवेत् ॥ (७९।२८)
आपद्भुजङ्गदष्टस्य मन्त्रहीनस्य सर्वदा ।
वृद्धवाक्यौषधान्येव कुर्वन्ति किल निर्विषम् ॥ (९५।७९)
वृद्धवाक्यामृतं पीत्वा तदुक्तान्यनुमन्य च ।
या तृप्तिर्जायते पुंसां सोमपाने कुतस्तथा ॥ (९५।८०)
आपत्तौ पतितानां येषां वृद्धा न सन्ति शास्तारः ।
ते शोच्या बन्धूनां जीवन्तोऽपीह मृततुल्याः ॥ (९५।८१)
आपद्ग्राहगृहीतानां वृद्धाः सन्ति न पण्डिताः ।
येषां मोचयितारो वै तेषां शान्तिर्न विद्यते ॥ (९५।८२)
आपज्जलनिमग्नानां ह्रियतां व्यसनोर्मिभिः ।
वृद्धवाक्यैर्विना नूनं नैवोत्तारः कथंचन ॥ (९५।८३)

MAHĪ-SĀGARA-SAṄGAMA

BY

D. C. SIRCAR

[पुराणपत्रिकायाश्चतुर्थभागस्य प्रथमेऽङ्के (जनवरी, १९६२) स्कन्दपुराणान्तर्गतस्य चिरकार्युपारव्यानस्य विषये एको लेख: प्रकाशित आसीत्। तस्मिन् लेखे 'महीसागरसंगमे' इत्यत्र 'मही' शब्देन 'पृथिवी' इत्यर्थो गृहीत आसीत्। प्रस्तुतलेखे अस्यार्थस्य समीक्षां निराकरणं च कृत्वा 'मही' इत्यस्य 'महीनाम्नी नदी' इत्यर्थः प्रतिपादितः।]

In an interesting article on the Legend of Cirakārin, published above, Vol. IV, No. 1, January 1962, pp. 197 ff., the following stanza has been quoted from the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, I, ii, 6—

अहं हि ब्रह्मणो वाक्याद्विप्राणां स्थानकं शुभम्।
दातुकामो महातीर्थे महीसागरसंगमे॥

With the following explanatory remark: "Nārada is desirous of settling a colony of Brāhmaṇas in a holy place called Stambhatīrtha which is said to be situated 'at the meeting-place of the earth and the sea' (महीसागरसंगमे)."[1] We find it difficult to agree with the above interpretation of the stanza quoted.

In the first place, 'the meeting place of the earth and the sea' is usually indicated in Sanskrit by popular words like *velā*, and it is so vast in length that **महीसागरसंगम** is really meaningless as an indication of the location of 'the great holy place' (*mahātīrtha*) if it is mentioned vaguely without its proper name. It has to be noted that the name of Stambhatīrtha is conspicuous by its absence in the stanza in question. Secondly, an analysis of the particular section of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* shows that the same holy place has been mentioned as Mahī-sāgara-saṅgama in no less than five verses (viz. verses 9, 12, 23,

---

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 198 and note 1.

46 and 48) while its name Stambhatīrtha finds mention only in two stanzas (verses 24 and 39). This makes it clear that Stambhatīrtha was also called Mahī-sāgara-saṅgama and that the formation of the latter name is similar to that of Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, the holy place at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the sea (the ancient 'Eastern Sea' or Bay of Bengal). *Mahī-sāgara-saṅgama* thus means 'the confluence of the river Mahī and the sea', and Stambhatīrtha or Mahī-sāgara-saṅgama was no doubt situated at the place where the Mahī discharged its waters in the sea.

There is no doubt that the Mahī river mentioned in the expression *Mahī-sāgara-saṅgama* in the above section of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* is the celebrated Mahī of Gujarat, which joins the Arabian Sea (the ancient 'Western Sea') in the Gulf of Cambay. The holy place situated at the junction of the Mahī and the sea is modern Cambay standing on the northern side of the mouth of the river. The name *Cambay* is an Anglicised form of *Khambāyat* of the Muslim authors,[1] and it is derived from *Khambavatī*=*Skambhavatī*=*Stambhavatī*, i. e. 'the pillared city.'[2] This is the Stambhatīrtha of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* and a large number of medieval records, both epigraphic and literary. It was also called Stambha or Stambhapura.[3]

Cambay rose to prominence in the early medieval period and a ruler of Stambha is mentioned in the Kavi plates (827 A.D.) of Govinda of the second Viceregal Rāṣṭrakūṭa house of Lāṭa.[4] A fragmentary inscription from Dabhoi refers to the defeat of the Turuṣka king at Stambha by the Dholka chief Lavaṇaprasāda about the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.[5] An inscription of 1222 A. D. shows how Jayantasiṁha, son of the celebrated Gujarat minister Vastupāla, 'was conducting the business of the seal' (*mudrā-vyāpārān=vyāpṛṇvati*) at Stambhatīrtha, i. e. was

---

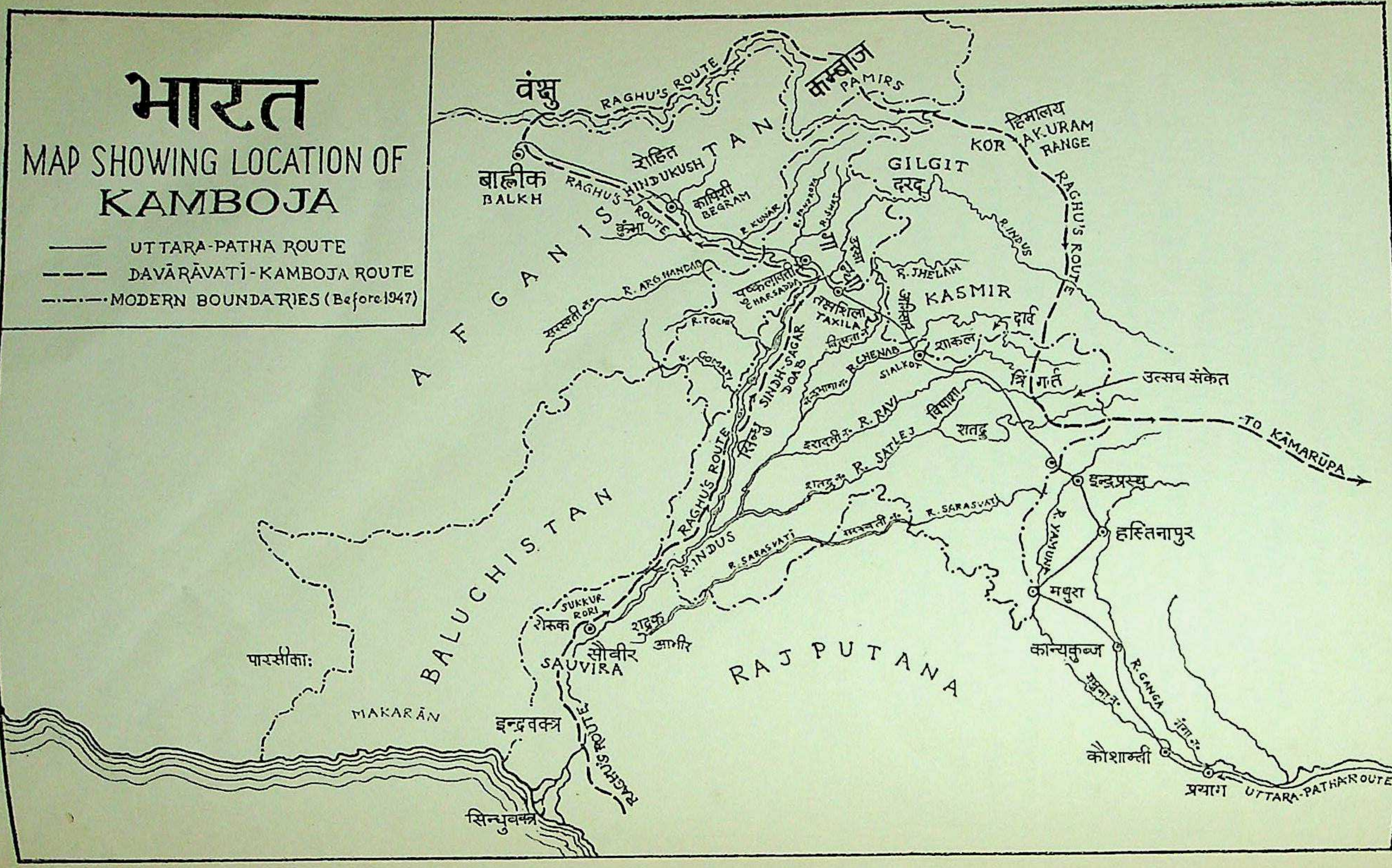
1. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 146.
2. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Cambay*.
3. Cf. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s. v. *Stambhapura* and *Stamhhatīrtha* ; also *infra*.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, Supplement, p. 47.
5. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 22, verse 16.

the king's viceroy at the place.[1] Bālacandra's *Vasantavilāsa* says that the Lāṭa Cāhamāna chief Śaṅkha of Bhṛgukaccha attacked Stambhatīrtha but was driven back by Lavaṇaprasāda's son Vīradhavala of Dholka.[2] Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* suggests that the great minister Udayana was for sometime stationed at Stambhatīrtha as the viceroy of the Caulukya king Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.)[3] According to the same work, the famous Jain polymath Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. D.) received his consecration as a monk at Stambhatīrtha.[4]

Under the Muslim Sultāns of Gujarat, Cambay was one of the royal residences, and Sultans were often called the kings of (Cambay.[5] Cambay was later the headquarters of a Nawab whose state merged in the Indian Union after India's independence in 1947.

---

1. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II. p. 1030.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 1057.
3. Jawney's trans., p. 117, where the name is quoted wrongly as *Cambay*.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
5. *Hobson-Jobson*, loc-cit.



भारत

MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF KAMBOJA

UTTARA-PATHA ROUTE
DAVĀRĀVATĪ-KAMBOJA ROUTE
MODERN BOUNDARIES (Before 1947)
वंक्षु
RAGHU'S ROUTE
कम्बोज
PAMIRS
हिमालय
KOR AKURAM RANGE
GILGIT
दरद्
बाह्लीक
BALKH
रोहित
HINDUKUSH
TAN
AFGANISTAN
कापिशी
BEGRAM
कुंभा
R. KUNAR
R. PANJKORA
R. SWAT
R. INDUS
R. ARGHANDAB
पुष्कलावती
CHARSADDA
उरशा
तक्षशिला
TAXILA
R. JHELAM
KASMIR
अभिसार
दार्व
शाकल
SIALKOT
त्रिगर्त
उत्सव संकेत
TO KĀMARŪPA
R. TOCHI
R. GOMATI
SINDH-SAGAR DOAB
सिन्धु
R. CHENAB
R. RAVI
इरावती
विपाशा
शतद्रु
R. SATLEJ
R. SARASVATI
सरस्वती
R. YAMUNA
इन्द्रप्रस्थ
हस्तिनापुर
मथुरा
कान्यकुब्ज
R. GANGA
गंगा
यमुना
कौशाम्बी
प्रयाग
UTTARA-PATHA ROUTE
BALUCHISTAN
R. INDUS
SUKKUR-RORI
रोरुक
सौवीर
SAUVIRA
शूद्रक
आभीर
RAJPUTANA
पारसीकाः
MAKARĀN
इन्द्रवक्त्र
सिन्धुवक्त्र

IDENTIFICATION OF KAMBOJA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA

['पुराण' पत्रिकाया अस्मिन् वर्तमानेऽङ्के २५१-२५७ पृष्ठेषु कम्बोजजनपदविषयको लेखो मुद्रितः । अस्मिन् लेखे यवनकम्बोजानाम् अशोकशिलालेखादिषु सदैव एकत्र निर्देशात् कम्बोजा अपि यवनजनपदस्य संनिहितौ कुत्रचिद् अफगानप्रदेशस्य दक्षिणभागे न्यवसन्निति प्रतिपादितम् । परन्तु, प्रस्तुतसमीक्षायामिदं मतमालोच्य कम्बोज-जनपदः पामीरप्रदेशे एवासीत्, नान्यत्र, इति मतमत्र प्रसाधितम् ।]

Dr. D. C. Sircar has done well in drawing specific attention to the identification of Kamboja which he now locates round about Kandhar in Afghanistan. The problem is an old one, since Lassen proposed to identify Kamboja with the Pamir. Rai Chaudhuri, for no good reason, located Kamboja in the Punch-Rajauri region of Kashmir. Dr. D. C. Sircar himself, in his paper on the Purāṇic texts of the Janapadas, was influenced by Rai Chaudhari, and suggested to place Kamboja somewhere in the vast area from Rajauri to Kafiristan. Dr. Lewis in his recent paper has proposed to identify Kamboja with Kafiristan (Purāṇa, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 133f). I had written a note on this identification of Dr. Lewis, saying that it is not possible to locate Kamboja in Kafiristan and that the old suggestion of Lassen to place Kamboja in the Pamir region is the only sound one in view of the evidence before us. It is worthwhile considering the question in all its bearings once again.

1. In the Purāṇic list of the Udīchya-Janapadas the name of Kamboja occurs in addition to Bāhlīka, Yavana, Hārahūraka and Gandhāra, besides other names. This reference is not useful for a definite location.

2. The new argument adduced by Dr. Sircar on the basis of the discovery of Aśoka's bilingual inscription in Greek and

Armaic at Kandhar, does not in my view help in any manner the problem of the correct identification of Kamboja. Firstly, an Armaic inscription had already been found long ago at Takshaśilā and another at Lampāka (Laghman in Afghanistan). And this is the third Armaic inscription to be found at Kandhāra. To infer from this that there was an Armaic knowing colony in that particular area is unwarranted. Kharoshṭhī, Armaic and Greek were the three scripts selected for the North-Western provinces of Aśokan empire, and no good reason can be pointed out why a particular script was chosen for a particular place.

3. Dr. Sircar thinks that the Yavanas of Aśokan inscriptions mentioned along with the Kambojas were occupying the area in the south of Afghanistan and the Kambojas, therefore, being contiguous with the Yavanas should be placed in the same area. This raises two problems; firstly, as to who were the Yavanas of Aśokan inscriptions and whether they were contiguous with the Kambojas, and if so, what were their relative positions. To this we may make the following reply. The Yavanas in Indian history are found in two regions, namely, at first in Bactria and secondly in Gandhāra and Punjab. Fortunately Indian literature has preserved distinct names for both of these. The Yavanas in Bactria were remembered as Bāhlīka-Yavana, as mentioned in the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa (Uttarabhāga, Upodghāta Pāda, ch. 16. 18), in a list of horses from that country ('बाह्लीकयावनोद्भूताः'). This was the situation in the Post-Alexandrian period during the period from Chandragupta to Aśoka. Therefore, it were the *Bāhlīka-Yavanas* to whom Aśoka was referring, although he does not anywhere specify the name of Bāhlīka in his inscriptions. If this is accepted, then it is not at all necessary to find a place for the Yavanas as well as Kambojas round about Kandhāra. The country of the Bāhlīka-Yavanas, i.e., Bactrian Greeks, being Balkh on the south side of the river Oxus, Kamboja mentioned along with the Yavanas could very well have been in the region of the Pamir.

The most important evidence bearing on the problem is furnished by Kālidāsa in the Raghuvaṁśa (Raghu. 4. 69-70). He takes his hero Raghu from the Western Frontier of India after a conflict with the Pārasīkas to the North up to the banks of the Oxus (Vaṅkshu) without mentioning any other territory on the way. Perhaps this was not necessary, since the whole area from Sindhu to the Oxus was already included in the Gupta-empire. Kālidāsa mentions a conflict between Raghu and the Hūṇas on the Oxus (Raghu. 4.67-69). This finds support from the Meharauli pillar inscription which describes the conquest of Bāhlika by Chandra (i. e. Chandragupta Vikramāditya) after crossing the Indus-Delta. Kālidāsa says that after his conflict with the Pārasīkas Raghu marched in the northern direction and proceeded up to the river Vaṅkshu.

Kālidāsa is very definite in his reference to Kambojas as invaded by Raghu after his battle with the Hūṇas on the Vaṅkshu or Oxus. This becomes perfectly natural if the Kambojas are located in the Pamir according to the sequence intended by Kālidāsa. It appears from the wording of Kālidāsa that the Kambojas were not a match to give battle to Raghu and hence they bowed down before him by offering tributes in the form of their best horses and heaps of gold. The whole description of Kālidāsa would become topsy-turvy if Kamboja is placed in the region of Kandhara, for Raghu in that case would have to return south-ward and thus would be placed in an almost impossible geographical position to make an attempt on the Himalayas, The geogrphy of the sector from Kamboja to Himalayas and to the Kirātas, the Pārvatiya republics, the Kinnaras, and the Utsava-saṅketas, is perfectly clear and certain. Unfortunately, Dr. Sircar has called it vague and in that vein also discarded the definite evidence about Kamboja furnished by Kālidāsa.

From Kamboja in the Pamirs the route to the Himalayas across the passes of the Karakuram was natural and even followed to this day. That region of the Himalayas lands one into Parvatīya gaṇas of Kullu-Kāngra valley, who were known as Parvatāśrayin Janapadas in the Purāṇas and as Trigarta-shashṭhas in Pāṇini, Next to them were the Utsava-saṅketas, i. e. the kinnaras of Rampur-Bushar, who were famous by that name because of a local custom in which at the time of particular festival in the year (*Utsava*) marriages (*Saṅketa* ; see Matsya 154. 406 for *Saṅketa*-marriage) were solemnised in large nnmber at a time.

This clarity in the geographical references is rather rare, and instead of brushing it aside so cheaply we ought to understand it properly and be grateful to the poet who has communicated such precise information.

Another argument which accords with this location of Kamboja by Kālidāsa is the linguistic fact stated by Yāska. He says that the root *śava* to go is used only in the dialect of Kambojas ('शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते'). This statement was first critically studied by Prof. Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra who has shown on the basis of Grierson's Linguistic Survey that Yāska was right in his observation and the root *Śava* is still current in the Ghalcha dialects of the Pamirs in the upper Oxus regions. I am not quite sure about the root in the dialect of Kandhar where Kamboja is proposed to be located by Dr. Sircar.

Another fact of Indian geography also enters into the argument. If we look at the map of North-West India and Afghanistan we find the names of a number of Janapadas. To find accomodation for them one has to proceed from the known to the unknown. These names are Dārva (Mod. Jammu-Dugger), Abhisāra (Punchh-Rajauri), Uraśā (Mod. Hazara), Gandhāra (with eastern capital at Takshaśilā and western at Pushkarāvati), Kāpiśī (Mod. Begram), where an inscription mentioning Kāpiśi was found in Kafiristan-Kohistan area),Bāhlīka (Mod. Balkh in North-West Afghanistan), Thus the vast stretch of the country from Jammu to Balkh is marked out by important and distinct Janapada-names with several other smaller ones in between them, like Aparīta (the land of the Afridis on the south of the Kabul river, now calledTirah), Darad (North Kashmir or Gilgit valley) etc. In the area round about Kandhar several other Janapadas were located, e. g., Hārahūraka, Jāguḍa (which was identified with

Ghazani), Ramaṭha (also somewhere between Kandhāra and Ghazni). There is no place for a Mahā-Janapad like Kamboja left in this area except where Kalidāsa has placed it in the neighbourhood of the Oxus.

In the Petavatthu commentary there is a reference to a long trade-route called the Dvārāvatī-Kamboja route. Now this had been a route existing from the times of the Indus Valley. There is no reason why the route should have abruptly ended at Kandhar if the latter is to be identified with Kamboja. From what we know of these ancient routes it is clear that the hub for the branching of the various routes was Bāhlīka. Here the Uttarāpatha-route from Tāmralipti-Pāṭaliputra-Vārānasī-Kauśāmbī-Mathurā-Śākali-Takshaśilā-Pushkarāvatī-Kāpiśī terminated; so also the Dvārāvatī-Kamboja route ended here and both of these Northern and Southern routes from India restarted towards Kamboja to pick up with the silk-routes from China. This is a pointer why Kamboja could not have been sited any where in central or southern Afghanistan, because no grand route could abruptly be terminated there.

ON THE ADHYĀYAS OF THE VĀMANA-PURĀṆA

By

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

[अत्र लेखे वामनपुराणस्य संवादितकोशानां साक्ष्यमाश्रित्य अध्यायसंख्यादृष्ट्वा वामनपुराणपाठस्य चत्वारो वर्गाः प्रदर्शिताः सन्ति। प्रथमो वर्गश्चतुर्नवत्यध्यायात्मकः। द्वितीये वर्गे (तेलुगुकोशे) वेंकटेश्वरसंस्करणस्य ८४-८८ अध्याया न विद्यन्ते। तृतीये वर्गे शारदाकोशस्य तदनुवर्तिनः काश्मीरीकोशस्य एकस्य देवनागरीकोशस्य च पाठः समावेशितः। अस्मिन् वर्गे वेंकटेश्वरसंस्करणस्य वामनचरितात्मकः २३-३१ अध्यायानां ग्रन्थो न विद्यते। इदं वामनचरितं पुरा स्वतन्त्ररूपेण पृथगेव रचितं प्रचलितं चासीत्, पश्चाच्चेदं वामनपुराणे प्रक्षिप्तमित्यत्र प्रदर्शितम्। चतुर्थे वर्गे एशियाटिकसोसाइटी-बंगालीकोशस्य तदनुवर्त्तिनः अद्यारकोशस्य च पाठः संन्निवेशितः। अस्मिन् वर्गे वेंकटेश्वरसंस्करणस्य ऋषिसूतसंवादात्मकः २२.४७—५०.१ ग्रन्थोऽविद्यमानः। इदं ग्रन्थं वर्जयित्वा वामनपुराणस्य शेषो ग्रन्थः पुलस्त्यनारदसंवादात्मक एव। अतोऽयं २२.४७—९०.१ अध्यायात्मकः समग्रो ग्रन्थ एव प्रक्षेपात्मको विद्यते इत्यप्यत्र प्रदर्शितम्।]

The Vāmana-Purāṇa is mentioned as the fourteenth among the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas ('चतुर्दशं वामनमाहुरग्र्यं' Vām.P. 95. 36a). In the list of the Mahāpurāṇas as given in the various Purāṇas, its extent is uniformly mentioned as ten thousand ślokas. The Nāradīya-Purāṇa gives its extent as well as its contents as follows :

शृणु वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि पुराणं वामनाभिधम्।
त्रिविक्रमचरित्राढ्यं दशसाहस्रसंख्यकम् ॥ १ ॥
कूर्मकल्पसमाख्यानं वर्गत्रयकथानकम्।
भागद्वयसमायुक्तं वक्तृश्रोतृशुभावहम् ॥ २ ॥
पुराणप्रश्नः प्रथमं ब्रह्मशीर्षच्छिदा ततः।
कपालमोचनाख्यानं दक्षयज्ञविहिंसनम् ॥ ३ ॥
हरस्य कालरूपाख्या कामस्य दहनं ततः।
प्रह्लादनारायणयोर्युद्धं देवासुराहवः ॥ ४ ॥

सुकेश्यर्कसमाख्यानं ततो भुवनकोशकम् ।
ततः काम्यव्रताख्यानं श्रीदुर्गाचरितं ततः ॥ ५ ॥
तपनीचरितं पश्चात् कुरुक्षेत्रस्य वर्णनम् ।
सत्यामाहात्म्यमतुलं पार्वतीजन्मकीर्त्तनम् ॥ ६ ॥

तपस्तस्या विवाहश्च गौर्युपाख्यानकं ततः ।
ततः कौशिक्युपाख्यानं कुमारचरितं ततः ॥ ७ ॥

ततोऽन्धकवधाख्यानं साध्योपाख्यानकं ततः ।
जाबालिचरितं पश्चादरजायाः कथाऽद्भुता ॥ ८ ॥

अन्धकेश्वरयोर्युद्धं गणत्वं चान्धकस्य च ।
मरुतां जन्मकथनं बलेश्च चरितं ततः ॥ ९ ॥

ततस्तु लक्ष्म्याश्चरितं त्रैविक्रममतः परम् ।
प्रह्लादतीर्थयात्रायां प्रोच्यन्तेऽथ कथाः शुभाः ॥१०॥
ततश्च धुन्धुचरितं प्रेतोपाख्यानकं ततः ।
नक्षत्रपुरुषाख्यानं श्रीदामचरितं ततः ॥११॥
त्रिविक्रमचरित्रान्ते ब्रह्मप्रोक्तः स्तवोत्तमः ।
प्रह्लादबलिसंवादे सुतले हरिशंसनम् ॥१२॥
इत्येष पूर्वभागोऽस्य पुराणस्य तवोदितः ।
शृण्वतोऽस्योत्तरं भागं बृहद्वामनसंज्ञकम् ॥१३॥
माहेश्वरी भागवती गौरी गाणेश्वरो तथा ।
चतस्रः संहिताश्चात्र पृथक् साहस्रसंख्यया ॥१४॥

……………………………………

इत्येतद् वामनं नाम पुराणं सुविचित्रकम् ।
पुलस्त्येन समाख्यातं नारदाय महात्मने ॥१७॥

The topics enumerated here as belonging to the *Pūrva-Bhāga* are all found almost in the same order in the present text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa. The *Uttara-bhāga* called the *Bṛhad-Vāmana* consisting of four Saṁhitās of four thousand ślokas is totally missing in all the printed editions as well as in almost all the available manuscripts. The Veṅkteśvara edition of the Vāmana-Purāṇa consists of 6,000 ślokas (exact number 5815 ślokas), divided into 95 Adhyāyas.

For discussing the extent of the Vāmana-Purāṇa the manuscript-evidence should also be taken into consideration.

The following manuscripts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa have been collated in the Purāṇa Department of the Kashirāj Trust :—

Group I

I. 1. Devanāgarī (D) Ms., No. 54/183 of the Sarasvatī-Bhaṇḍāra, Fort Ramnagar ; folios 180 ; approx. 1810 A. D.

2, D Ms., No. 19 of 1873-74 of BORI, Poona ; folios 203 ; 1782 A. D.

3. D Ms., No 78 of 1882-83, BORI, Poona ; folios 254 ; 1657 A. D.

4. D Ms., No. E. 3584, India Office Library, London ; folios 170 ; 1805 A. D.

5. D Ms., No. E. 3585, India Office Library, London ; folios 208 ; undated.

6. DMs. No. 1447, Pennsylvania University ; folios 132 ; 1757 A. D.

Group II

II. 7. Telugu (T) Ms., No. D2263 of Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras ; incomplete (Adhs. 6-94 of the Venk. edn.) ; folios numbered 13-164 (ff. 1-12, 158-161, 163 missing).

Group III

III. 8. Śāradā (Ś) Ms., deposited in the B.H.U. Library, Varanasi; incomplete (Venk. edn. 1. 15 b—95. 91 c.) ; folios 2-171 (1st folio missing).

9. Kāśmīrī (K) Ms., No. G 844-58-3-8 of Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta ; folios 182 ; 1831 A. D.

10. D Ms., No. 25. 227 of BISM, Poona ; folios 270 ; 1728 A. D.

Group IV

IV. 11. Bengali Ms. (B), Ms No. 3533-71-B-3 of the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta ; folios 167 ; 1807 A. D.

12. D Ms. No. 8. B. 5 on page 155a of the catalogue of the Adyar Library, Madras ; folios 135.

These Mss. have been divided here into four groups, as shown above, according to the extent of their texts. Thus, from the point of the extent of the text we find four versions of the Vāmana Purāṇa as follows :—

I. The Version represented by Group I (6 D Mss). The extent of this version is the same as that of the Veṅkṭeśvara edn. (i. e. Adhyāyas 95, or 94 if the combination of the Veṅk. Adhs. 83 and 84 in these Mss. is taken into consideration).

II. The Version represented by the Telugu Ms. (Group II). In this version the portion 84.10—89.9 of the Veṅk. edn. is omitted. In the Veṅk. edn. the first nine ślokas of Adh. 89 are mere repetition, with a negligible textual variation, of the first nine ślokas of Adh. 84. Hence the omission of these nine ślokas (1-9) of Adh. 89 in the Telugu edition is quite appropriate.

These five Adhyāyas which have been omitted in the T Ms. contain mention of some tīrthas, and also four Viṣṇu-stotras. The omission of so much matter of the text, covering full five adhyāyas of about 330 ślokas can never be a case of haplography. So with this omission the T Ms. can be said to have a different extent of the Vāmana-Purāṇa-text.

III. The Version represented by Group III (Ś and K Mss. and the allied D Ms. of BISM). In this version the nine Adhyāyas (23-31) of the Veṅk. edn. are amitted. These nine Adhyāyas contain the *Vāmana-charita* of which the *Bali-charita* also forms a part. But the same Vāmana-charita has been given in toto in Adhyāyas 73ff. of the Veṅk. edn. after the 'मरुतां जन्म' as indicated by the Nāradīya Purāṇa also. Why this repetition ?

It appears that the Vāmana-charita which is contained in Adhs. 23-31 of the Veṅk.-edn; had formed an independent short tract, and later on it found a place in the Vāmana-Purāṇa. Its independent character is proved by two facts ; firstly, while the whole Vāmana-Purāṇa, including the Vāmana-charita of Adhs. 73ff., is in the form of an interlocution between Pulastya and Nārada, the portion in question (Adhs. 23-31) is narrated by Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa to the Ṛṣis of the Naimiṣāraṇya ; secondly, a detailed *phalaśruti* is given as the concluding part of this Vāmana-charita, which clearly shows its independent character. It may be worth while to quote this *phalaśruti* here :—

इत्येत्कथितं तस्य विष्णोर्माहात्म्यमुत्तमम् ।
श्रृणुयाद् यो वामनस्य सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥
बलिप्रह्लादसंवादं मन्त्रितं बलिशुक्रयोः ।
बलेर्विष्णोश्च कथितं ये स्मरिष्यन्ति मानवाः ॥
नाधयो व्याधयस्तेषां न च मोहाकुलं मनः ।
भविष्यति द्विजश्रेष्ठाः पापं तस्य कदाचन ॥
च्युतराज्यो निजं राज्यमिष्टप्राप्ति वियोगवान् ।
समाप्नोति महाभागा नरः श्रुत्वा कथामिमाम् ॥
ब्राह्मणो वेदमाप्नोति जयति क्षत्रियो महीम् ।
वैश्यो धनसमृद्धि च शूद्रः सुखमवाप्नुयात् ।
वामनस्य च माहात्म्यं श्रृण्वन् पापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥

(Vām. P., Veṅk ed., 31. 93-97)

IV. The version represented by Group IV (B and allied D Mss.). This version is rather brief but not less important. It omits more than 27 Adhyāyas (22. 47—50.1) of the Veṅk, edn. The extent of this version thus is only about 68 Adhyāyas. There is another Ms. (No. 252) of the Vāmana Purāṇa in the Śṛiṅgerī-Maṭha which has almost the same extent.

The whole of this portion (22. 47—50.1) of the Veṅk edn., is narrated by Sūta Lomaharṣana to the Ṛṣis of the Naimiṣa forest, and contains the Vāmana-Charita (Adhs. 23-31) and the description and māhātmya of a number of tīrthas. Now, as already mentioned, the Vāmana-charita has also been given in Adhs. 73ff. and the tirthas in Adhs. 78 ff. in connection with the description of Prahlāda's *tīrtha yātrā*. The Sūta and the Ṛṣis have been abruptly introduced in 22.47 :—

सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योरन्तरे कुरुजाङ्गले ।
मुनिप्रवरमासीनं पुराणं लोमहर्षणम् ।
अपृच्छन्त द्विजवराः प्रभवं सुरसत्तमाः ॥

An interesting thing to be noted here is the fact that the Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa has been introduced by Hari himself to the gods who being conquered and oppressed by Śumbha and Niśumbha had approached Hari in the Śveta-dvīpa for advice. Considering the great difference in the time of Śumbha and Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa, this introduction of Sūta by Hari in the course of his advice to the Devas as to the means of destroying the two demons. Śumbha and Niśumbha, seems quite absurd.

Moreover, this abrupt introduction of Sūta and Ṛṣis breaks the thread of the interlocution between the Deva-deva (Hari) and the gods, which had begun in Adh. 21, Śl 14 of the Veṅk. edn., wherein the gods had inquired of Hari about the origin and the Māhātmya of Kurukṣetra and Pṛthūdaka tīrtha. The broken thread of the narration started in the form of the interlocution between Hari and the Devas has again been taken up in 50.2 thus :

एवं पृथूदकं देवाः पुण्यं पापभयापहम् ।
तं गच्छध्वं महातीर्थं..........................॥

So far we have considered four kinds of extent of the Vāmana-Purāṇa text. There is another Ms. of the Vāmana-Purāṇa in the Raghunath Sanskrit Library, Jammu, the extent of which is thus given in its last colophon :

'इति श्रीवामनपुराणे दशसाहस्रयां....चतुर्दशोत्तरशततमोऽध्यायः ।
वामनपुराणं समाप्तम् ।'

But nothing can be said about its correct extent until it is examined and collated, Arrangements have been made to procure this Ms. from Jammu for the Purāṇa-Deptt. for collation.

In all the Mss. mentioned above (except the Pennsylvania Univ. Ms.) the portion from 83.33 (last śloka of Adh. 83, giving *phalaśruti*) to 84 .9 of the Veṅk. edn. have been omitted, and the two Adhyāyas 83 and 84 have been combined into one Adhyāya. As already said, ślokas 1-9 of Adh. 84 have been repeated in 89. 1-9.

The whole of this discussion may be summed up in the following table :—

Version	Extent	Portion of Veṅk. edn. omitted.	Contents of the omitted portion or other remarks
I. (D Mss.)	94 Adhs.	83. 33—84.9 Adhs. 83, 84 combined)	84.1-9 re-occur in 89.1-9.
II. (T Ms.)	89 Adhs.	83. 33–89 .9 (5 Adhs.)	Description of some tīrthas, four Viṣṇu-stotras.
III. (Ś and K Mss.)	85 Adhs.	Adhs. 23–31 (9 Adhs.) Also like I	Vāmana-charita. (This might have been an independent tract, and later on inserted in Vāmana-Purāṇa).
IV. (B Ms., Adyar and Sṛiṅgeri Maṭha Mss.)	67 Adhs.	22. 47–50. 1 (More than 27 Adhs.) Also like I	Interlocution between Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa and the Ṛṣis (Occuring in this portion only, while the rest of the Vām. P. is narrated by Pulastya to Nārada).

IN MEMORIUM

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

Mahāmahima Dr. Rajendra Prasad passed away on 28th February, 1963. He was the first President of the Indian Republic and held the office for three terms. He retired in May, 1962 and after about nine months having spent the quiet life of an humble citizen, he left his mortal coil. He had held many distinguished offices, being elected as the President of the Indian National Congress, Minister for food in the first Cabinet, and after independence in 1947 was elected as President of the Constituent Assembly which drafted the Constitution of Free India.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad was born at Jiradai, a small village in Sāran district in Bihar. He was from the beginning a person of outstanding intellectual powers and integrity, having topped the list of all the successful candidates, at the Calcutta University in the subject of Law. He joined the legal profession and soon came to the forefront of the Law practitioners of Bihar.

Intellectually a giant, he was morally and spiritually a saint whose heart was filled with deep compassion for his fellow-beings. Wherever there was suffering an eloquent call came to him, and he responded to it with a rare courage and self-sacrifice. His whole life-philosophy may be summed up in one word, namely, disinterested service, and that was the genuine religious inspiration with which he dedicated his soul to his God.

His life although composed of stirring episodes was fraught with child-like simplicity. He had accepted Gandhiji as his Master from the time of the Champaran Satyagrah against the white indigo-planters and the struggle, although it entailed a lot of suffering, ended in complete success of the cause of the poor peasants of Bihar. This at once pushed him to the highest pedestal in the public life of Bihar, and Gandhiji who had keen eye for discerning his lieutenant found him a trustworthy follower, who treaded in the footsteps of the Master throughout the thick and thin of the National struggle. In his political career he paid the highest price as the natural consequence of his convictions.

Within the political sheath of his personality was concealed Rajendra Prasad, the essential being of culture. If he had not joined politics he would have gone to the greatest length in the domain of literature and cultural activities. He was elected President of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, and was in a way a guiding star to the movement for making Hindi the National language of India. As President he exercised his best influence in furthering the cause of Hindi, because he genuinely felt that it was not a cause of partizenships, but a work that would serve genuine national interest. He loved all languages and religions, but that did not stand in the way of his devotion to Hindi and to Sanātana Dharma.

During the long years that he was President and even before and after, he associated himself with so many cultural, religious and literary activities that it would be difficult to give a full inventory of the Institutions which benefitted by his help and patronage. With chronic frail health he was going up and down the country to take part in cultural activities, inauguating their special programmes, and giving them the benefit of his vast prestige and patronage. He accepted at my request to become the Chief Patron of the Rajasthan Vedic Tattva Śodha Sansthāna and the Founder-Patron of the All-India Prakrit Text Society, with both of which he remained associated upto the end of his life.

The All-India Kashiraj Trust was fortunate in receiving from the beginning the gracious support of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. He inaugurated the Trust on January 12, 1958 in a well attended function in the Shivala Palace on the bank of the Ganges. On that occasion he uttered the following memorable words :—

"The noble work of this Trust to complete the Purāṇas which are teeming with knowledge deserve to be commended and patronised by the countrymen".

"Even at the present age new knowledge could be gathered in abundance by probing into the Purāṇas which are sought to be compiled by the Trust."

"It was a welcome move that in Varanasi the ancient seat of learning sustained and planned efforts were being made to preserve the good in our past culture and literature."

"I hope that the Trust will bring out cheap and beautiful editions of the Purāṇas so that people might draw inspirations from them."

For the other great literary project accomplished by the Trust in the form of a critically edited text of the Rāmacharitamānasa of Goswami Tulsidas Dr. Rajendra Prasad wrote the following words of kind appreciation in his Hindi letter of 23rd March, 1962, addressed to His Highness Maharajā Kashinaresh, Chairman of the Kashiraj Trust :—

"काशिराज न्यास ने जो यह उत्तम कार्यं किया है उसके लिये श्री रामचरितमानस में अनुराग रखने वाले असंख्य नर नारी उसके सदा आभारी रहेंगे। मेरी सहानुभूति एवं शुभकामनाएं सदा उसके साथ रहेंगी।'

A pious and high-minded soul has gone from our midst. We pray to God for granting him everlasting peace.

V. S. AGRAWALA

“वेदशास्त्रसंरक्षक” पं० मेहतामुरारीलालमहोदयाः

एतेषां वियोगेन दृढतमवेदशास्त्रप्रेमिणः संकटसमयेऽस्मिन् वेदशास्त्रसंरक्षणार्थमत्यधिकधनव्ययकर्तुरभावः सम्पन्न इति समाजस्यापूरणीया क्षतिरभूदिति दुःखेन वक्तव्यमापतति ।

सं० १९४९ आश्विनवद्य२ यायाम् एतेषां जन्म अभूत्। काशिराजन्यासाय (यत्र पुराणपत्रिका प्रचलति) मत्स्यपुराणप्रकाशनार्थं ४९ सहस्ररूप्यकाणि दत्त्वा एतैर्महानुभावैः पुराणप्रकाशनकार्ये प्रोत्साहनं कृतमस्ति ।

सं० १९७७ वत्सरे काशीस्थ-श्रीवल्लभरामशालिग्राम-सांगवेदविद्यालयस्य स्थापनां विधाय ४२ वर्षपर्यन्तमनवरतं वेदविद्यायाः सेवा एभिः प्रचलिता आसीत्। अस्याः सेवायाः इयं विशेषता यत् तदानीं काशीसदृशे विद्यापीठेऽपि इतरविधानां कृते राजकीयैर्जनतया च प्रचुरो धनव्ययो यद्यपि क्रियते स्म तथापि सर्वप्रधानस्य घनान्तदशग्रन्थवेदाध्ययनस्य कृते तु प्रभुशक्तिद्वारा न कापि सुव्यवस्थाऽऽसीत् । परमेतैरेव सा कृता ।

परलोकवासिनां नागरकुलभूषणानां श्रीवल्लभराममहोदयानां शिक्षणेन २८ वर्षीयतारूण्यावस्थायामेवैतैर्वेदविषये लोकोत्तरनिष्ठा सम्पादितासीत् ।

एतेषामास्तिक्यमेवं प्रकाशमानमासीत्, येन सर्वविधं कष्टं सोढ्वा धर्मसेवार्थं तन्मया एते आसन् । उपनयनानन्तरं वेदाध्ययनं कृत्वा चातुर्मास्यान्तेष्टिकर्मणोऽपि ज्ञानं पूर्णतया सम्पादितमासीत् । एतैः स्वकाले अनेके यज्ञाः कारिताः ।

एवं काश्यां कलिकातानगर्यां चाग्निहोत्रिभ्यां वृत्तिं प्रदायाग्निहोत्रद्वयं प्रचालितमासीत् । तदानीं कलिकातायामेतदतिरिक्तस्थानेऽग्निहोत्रं नासीदतस्तत्राग्निहोत्रोपयुक्तानां समित्कुशादीनां दौर्लभ्यमासीत् ।

प्रसंगवशात् समित्कुशनिमित्तेनैव त्यक्तमहामहोपाध्यायानां परलोकवासिनां श्रीलक्ष्मणशास्त्रिद्राविडमहोदयानामेतत्समवेत-श्रीवल्लभराममहोदयानां च परस्परं परिचयोऽभूत् । ततो वेदविद्यारक्षणार्थं विचारविनिमयः प्रवृत्तः, येन दिवंगतयोः

श्रीवल्लभरामशालिग्राममहोदययोः स्मारकरूपेण काशीराजानां श्रीप्रभुनारायणसिंहमहोदययानां करकमलेन सांगवेदविद्यालयस्योद्घाटनं जातम् । तत्र पूर्णोत्साहेन नेतृत्वं स्व० श्रीमुरारीलालमहोदयानामेवासीत् । अ० भा० व० वेदपरीक्षायाः स्थापनं कृत्वा विद्यालयकार्यं दृढतमं कृतम् । वेदशास्त्राण्युद्दिश्य विद्यालयेन विशेषतः प्रयत्नः कृतः । सन् १९२८ ईशवीयसम्वत्सरे काश्यां सम्पन्नस्य अखिलभारतवर्षीयब्राह्मणमहासम्मेलनस्य तदुत्तरमुपक्रान्तस्य अखिलभारतवर्षीयवर्णाश्रमस्वराज्यसङ्घस्य तदंगसमितिनां च संरक्षणं संवर्धनं समादरणं चैतैः प्रशंसनीयानि कृतानि तेन काशीराजानामपि पूर्णः सहयोगोऽधिकतया वृद्धिंगतोऽभूत् ।

उपरिनिर्दिष्टेन पुराणप्रकाशनकार्यसहयोगेन एवं अनेक शतचण्डीसहस्रचण्डीयागाः बडनगरस्थितश्रीहाटकेश्वरमन्दिरजीर्णोद्धारः, विष्णुयागमहारुद्रादयः, गोपालसहस्रनामयज्ञः सहस्रब्राह्मणभोजनम्, अयुतब्राह्मणभोजनम्, दक्षिणोत्तरयात्रासु विशेषतो मुक्तहस्तेन दानानि, गायत्रीपुरश्चरणम्, गणेशसहस्रनामयज्ञः, अधिकमासेषु भागवतसप्ताहश्रवणम्, मृत्युंजयमन्दिरजीर्णोद्धारः अनेकमन्दिरधर्मशालादीनां जीर्णोद्धारः, अनेकव्रतोद्यापनानि, पाण्डुकेश्वरधर्मशालानिर्माणम्, भारतीयविद्याभवननिर्माणम् (दिल्ली), अनेकबालकानामुपनयनार्थं अनेककन्यानां विवाहार्थं च साहाय्यदानम्, अनेकब्राह्मणानां ऋणमुक्ततायाः कृते आर्थिकसहायताकरणम्, सांगवेदविद्यालयस्य, मरवारीस्थितौषधालयस्य, "मेहता" औषधालयस्य च संचालनम्, वसन्तपूजा, पण्डितसभादीनि, विधिवद्वेदपारायणश्रवणम् इत्याद्यनेकधार्मिककार्यैश्च स्व० मेहतामहोदयैरद्वितीयं यशः प्राप्तम् ।

अन्ते काश्यामेवोषित्वा सं० २०१९ फा० शु० ६ दिने (२८ फरवरी १९६३, दिनांके) एते शिवसान्निध्यमापुः । उपर्युक्तकार्यद्वारा एतेषां व्यक्तित्वं बहुमूल्यमासीत् । एतेषां परलोकप्रयाणेन एतादृशो मनुष्योऽधुना अप्राप्यः संवृत्तः ।

राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविड

THE LATE M. PATANJALI SASTRI

The Purāṇa Department of the All-India Kashi Raja Trust places on record its deep sorrow at the demise on 16-3-1963 of Sri M. Patanjali Sastri, Retired Chief justice of India and Chairman, Central Sanskrit Board. In the last mentioned capacity, he paid a visit to the Purāṇa Department in Fort Ramnagar and saw the work being done for the fresh editions of Purāṇas. With him, as Chairman, at its Banaras session, last July, the Central Sanskrit Board resolved to support the Purāṇa project of the Kashi Raja Trust. Those connected with the Purāṇa work are indebted to him for his sympathy with this work. His death is a great loss to the world of Sanskrit.

The late Sri Patanjali Sastri came to Banaras frequently as Member of the Executive of the Banaras Hindu University, where he was of great help in the restoration of peaceful and smooth working of the institution. As Chief Justice, he was also intimately connected with the Delhi University. He had delivered Convocation Addresses at both these Universities.

Patanjali Sastri's life is an example of humble beginnings, steady work of high quality, character and rise to the highest honours in the chosen field. He was born on 7th January 1889. His father, Mandalakalattur Krishna Sastri was a well-known Sanskrit Pandit on the staff of the Pachayappa College, Madras. He studied his Sanskrit under Mahamahopadhyaya Lakshmana Suri, distinguished scholar in Vedānta and author of many poems, plays and prose works, and father of Sri T. L. Venkatarama Iyer who also adorned the Supreme court. He qualified for Law, specialised in the affairs of the affluent South Indian community of Nattukottai Chettiars and later became standing Counsel to Government on Income-tax. Apart from Tax-laws, Constitutional law was also his speciality. In 1939 he was elevated to Bench of the Madras High Court. He distinguished himself as a Judge and his appointment to the Federal Court Judgeship and subsequent Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court in 1954 were matters of natural sequence. As a Judge he was known for his thorough study and careful preparation of his judgements which he wrote out in his own hand; when he wanted some more clarification, he did not hesitate to re-open the case and hear again on the points to be clarified. His judgements were also noted for frequent enunciation of principles. After his retirement, he attended an International Law Conference in Spain.

Reference has already been made to his Sanskrit heritage and early Sanskrit study. Throughout his career, he continued his interest in Sanskrit. He was a good student of Sāhitya and his appointment, after retirement, as Chairman of the Central Sanskrit Board, led to a renewal of his interest in Sanskrit. I remember my earliest contacts with him, going back to 1928, when I was a student of the Sanskrit M. A. Classes under Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, a Secretary of the Sanskrit Association, when I called on him, he laid aside case-papers and began reciting verses from the Meghadūta. We had kept our contacts all through. At the meetings of the Central Sanskrit Board, he always bestowed very detailed attention to each matter.

On questions relating to the maintenance and promotion of Sanskrit in the country, he held certain specific views. While he did not say anything against our Board's policy of subsiding Pathasalas, he, as we have recorded in the Sanskrit Commission's Report, was not a believer in the separate cultivation of Sanskrit, in schools segregated from the general schools; he advocated Sanskrit classes as an integral section of the High Schools. On the question of Scholarships, he was of the view that a very large number of these should be made available in the general High Schools to boys and girls who would opt for Sanskrit, an idea which remains to be implemented by the Board.

More than his study of Sanskrit, it was the spirit of Sanskrit that he had embodied in his life and conduct that should be specially mentioned. Quiet, dignified, scrupulous, free from all fuss and loudness, he was a modern example of the traditional conception of a *Śiṣṭa.* Outwardly, his faith was undemonstrative, but the true spirit of religion and philosophy was evident in his unassuming, unoffending, soft-spoken behaviour. As Mr. M. C. Setalvad said in the Condolence Reference in the Supreme Court on 18th March, "Indeed, it can well be said that in several respects, he was the embodiment of the great tradition and culture of South India, which has during the generations illumined the pages of Indian History in matters of religion, philosophy and learning."

V. RAGHAVAN

त्रयो देवाः

रजो ब्रह्मा तमो रुद्रो विष्णुः सत्त्वं जगत्पतिः ।
एत एव त्रयो देवा एत एव त्रयो गुणाः ॥

(मार्कण्डेय पु०, ४०।१८)

ब्रह्मा विष्णुश्च रुद्रश्च त्रयो देवाः सनातनाः ।
नातः परतरं किञ्चिद् ब्रह्माण्डेऽस्मिन् महामते ॥

ब्रह्मा सृजति लोकान् वै विष्णुः पात्यखिलं जगत् ।
रुद्रः संहरते काले त्रय एतेऽत्र कारणम् ॥

एका मूर्तिस्त्रयो देवा ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ।
रजःसत्त्वतमोभिश्च संयुताः कार्यकारकाः ॥

(देवीभा०, १।८।२-४)

सृष्टिस्थित्यन्तकरणीं ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवात्मिकाम् ।
स संज्ञां याति भगवानेक एव जनार्दनः ॥

(विष्णुपु०, १।२।६६)

तमादिदेवमजरं केचिदाहुः शिवाभिधम् ।
केचिद् विष्णुं सदासत्त्वं ब्रह्माणं केचिदूचिरे ॥

(बृहन्नार०, पू०, अ० ३)

चतुर्मुखस्तु ब्रह्मत्वे कालत्वे चान्तकः स्मृतः ।
सहस्रमूर्धा पुरुषस्तिस्रोऽवस्थाः स्वयम्भुवः ॥

(शिवपु०, वा० सं०, अ० १०)

REVIEW OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(December, 1962—May, 1963)

The literary and cultural activities carried out by the Kashiraj Trust during the period under review may be briefly mentioned as follows :—

CRITICAL EDITIONS OF THE PURĀṆAS

1. *Matsya Purāṇa* :

Dr. V. Raghavan, the editor of the critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa, has already published a sample edition of the first Adh. of the Matsya Purāṇa in the 'Purāṇa' bulletin, Vol. IV. No. 2, p. 409-417. Two or three more Adhyāyas have also been constituted since then. Besides, the critical apparatus of Adhyāyas 12-22 has also been prepared at Madras. The Yajña-Varāha-text from the Matsya Purāṇa (248. 67-74) has been critically edited and published in this issue of the 'Purāṇa', pp. 237-242.

The text of the Svalpa Matsya Purāṇa, preserved in Manuscript form, has been examined in relation to the full M. P. text. The firsr ten chapters of the Svalpa M. P. have also been edited. It is proposed to publish this text in the 'Purāṇa' bulletin in several instalments.

2. *Vāmana Purāṇa.*

Besides the collation of the eight manuscripts of the Vāmana Purāṇa, already mentioned in the previous review, the microfilm of a Devanāgarī manuscript from the Adyar Library has also been collated at Ramnagar Purāṇa Office. A Śāradā Ms. from the B.H.U. Manuscripts-Department is now being collated. The microfilm copy of a Devanāgarī Ms. from the British Museum, London, has been procured, and is now being examined for the collation purpose. A Devanāgarī Ms. obtained from Kashmir and now deposited in B.H.U. Library, Manuscripts-Department, is also being examined.

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य कार्याणां विवरणम्

(दिसम्बर, १९६२—मई, १९६३)

अस्मिन्नवधौ कृतानां काशिराजन्यासस्य साहित्यिकानां सांस्कृतिकानां च कार्याणां संक्षेपेण विवरणमत्र प्रस्तूयते ।

पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मकानि संस्करणानि

१. मत्स्यपुराणम्

मत्स्यपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य सम्पादकाः श्री वे० राघवन् महोदयाः मत्स्यपुराणस्य प्रथमाध्यायस्य आदर्शरूपं संस्करणं 'पुराण'पत्रिकायाश्चतुर्थे भागे द्वितीयाङ्के ४०९-४१७ पृष्ठेषु पूर्वमेव प्रकाशितवन्तः । तदाप्रभृति अन्येऽपि द्वित्राः अध्यायाः सम्पादिताः । १२-२२ अध्यायानां पाठसमीक्षासामग्री च संगृहीता । मत्स्यपुराणान्तर्वर्तिनो यज्ञवराहपाठोऽपि सम्पादितः, पुराणपत्रिकाया अस्मिन्नङ्के प्रकाशितश्च ।

कोशरूपेण विद्यमानं स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणमपि पूर्णमत्स्यपुराणपाठमपेक्ष्य परीक्षितम् । स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणस्य प्रथमे दशाध्यायाः सम्पादिताः । इदं च पुराणं 'पुराण' पत्रिकाया अङ्केषु क्रमेण प्रकाश्येतेति प्रस्तावोऽत्र वर्त्तते ।

२. वामनपुराणम्

पूर्वस्मिन् कार्यविवरणे उक्तं यद् वामनपुराणस्य अष्टौ कोशाः संवादिता आसन् । अधुना, आड्यारपुस्तकालयात् माइक्रोफिल्मरूपेण प्राप्तो देवनागरीलिपिकोशोऽपि रामनगरपुराणकार्यालये संवादितः । काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयात्प्राप्तः शारदालिपिकोश इदानीं संवाद्यते । लन्दनस्थानीयब्रिटिशम्यूजियमसंस्थानात्प्राप्ता देवनागरीकोशस्य माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतिलिपिरिदानीं पाठसंवादार्थं परीक्ष्यते । काश्मीरात्प्राप्त एको देवनागरीलिपिकोशः काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य पुस्तकालये वर्त्तते तदप्यधुना पाठसंवादाय परीक्ष्यते ।

A subject-index of the Vāmana Purāṇa has been prepared under the guidance of Dr. V. S. Agrawala. The Matsya Purāṇa-index is also being prepared on the similar lines under Dr. Agrawala's guidance and supervision. Both these indexes will be utilized for preparing the critical edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa. The Vāmana Purāṇa śloka-index has already been prepared, as mentioned previously.

'PURĀṆA' BULLETIN

With this present Vyāsa-Pūrṇimā Number (Vol. V. No. 2) the 'Purāṇa' has completed its fifth year. From Vol. V. No. 1 the bulletin is being published with the financial assistance from the Ministry of Education, Government of India, amounting to more than half of the total expenditure incurred in its publication. For this kind and generous assistance the Trust is very grateful to the Government.

A classified Subject-Index and an alphabetical Authorwise Index of the first five volumes of the 'Purāṇa' is also being published separately as the Supplement to the present issue of the 'Purāṇa'. In these first five volumes, each consisting of two bi-annual issues, the number of articles published is 134, besides a number of Stotras, Sūktis, Book-Reviews, and the Reviews of activities of the Kashiraj Trust. Out of these 134 articles, 42 have been written in Sanskrit. The number of the learned contributors to the articles of the five volumes is 53, including 9 foreign Indologists. The scholars of the Purāṇa-Deptt. have contributed 25 articles, besides Sūktis, Reviews etc. The Editors are grateful to all these contributors for their co-operation, and hope that this co-operation will be continued.

Some time back Dr. P. L. Vaidya, the present General Editor of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata was requested to arrange from the B.O.R.I. a series of articles for the 'Purāṇa' on the comparative study of topics common to both the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. We are glad that we have received an article from the B.O.R.I. as the first of the series. The article is published in this issue. We are grateful for this co-operation.

डा० वासुदेवशरणमहोदयानां निर्देशानुसारेण वामनपुराणविषयाणां सूची निर्मिता। मत्स्यपुराणस्यापि सूची तथैव निर्मीयते। इमे द्वेऽपि सूच्यौ वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणसम्पादने उपयोगिन्यौ भविष्यतः। इदमपि पूर्वमेवोक्तं यद् वामनपुराणस्य श्लोकानाम् अनुक्रमणिकाऽपि निर्मिता वर्त्तते।

'पुराण' पत्रिका

अनेन व्यासपूर्णिमाऽङ्केन 'पुराण'पत्रिका पञ्चमं वर्षमिदानीं समापयति। पञ्चमभागस्य प्रथममङ्कमारभ्य 'पुराण'पत्रिका भारतराज्यस्य शिक्षामन्त्रालयद्वारा प्रदत्तेनार्थिकसाहाय्येन प्रकाश्यते। इदम् आर्थिकसाहाय्यं 'पुराण'पत्रिकाप्रकाशनार्थं क्रियमाणस्य समग्रधनव्ययस्य अर्द्धादधिकं सम्पद्यते। अस्मै साहाय्याय न्यासोऽतीव कृतज्ञो वर्तते।

'पुराण'पत्रिकायाः प्रथमपञ्चभागानां वर्गीकृतविषयानुक्रमणी लेखकानां च वर्णक्रमानुक्रमणी अस्य व्यासपूर्णिमाऽङ्कस्य परिशिष्टरूपेण पृथक् प्रकाश्यते। प्रतिवर्षमङ्कद्वययुक्तानां पञ्चानामेषां भागानां लेखाः १३४ संख्याकाः सन्ति, सूक्तिस्तोत्रादीनां संख्या तु पृथगेव। एषु लेखेषु ४२ लेखाः संस्कृते लिखिताः। विदुषां लेखकानां संख्या च ५३ वर्त्तते, एषु ९ विदेशीयाः प्राच्यविद्याविशारदाः। पुराणविभागीयानां विदुषां सूक्तिस्तोत्रादिव्यतिरिक्तेन २५ लेखाः प्रकाशिताः। एभ्यः सर्वेभ्य एव विद्वद्भ्यः सम्पादकाः कृतज्ञतां प्रकाशयन्ति। सहयोगोऽयं भाविनि कालेऽपि प्राप्यते इत्यस्माभिराशास्यते।

कश्चित्कालोऽतीतो यदा भाण्डारकरप्राच्यविद्याशोधसंस्थानीया महाभारतसम्पादकाः डा० पी० एल० वैद्य महोदयाः प्रार्थिताः आसन् यत् ते भाण्डारकरसंस्थानात् पुराणमहाभारततुलनात्मकानां केषांचित् लेखानां 'पुराण' पत्रिकायां प्रकाशनार्थं व्यवस्थां कुर्युः। इदानीं हर्षस्यायं विषयो यत् तस्मात् संस्थानाद् ईदृशः एको निबन्ध संप्राप्तः यश्चास्मिन्नङ्के प्रकाशितोऽस्ति। अस्मै सहयोगाय वयमनुगृहीताः स्मः।

The portrait of Maharṣi Vyāsa conferring clairvoyant vision (divya-dṛṣṭi) on Sañjaya, which is being inserted here on the frontispiece, has been kindly supplied to us by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for this purpose. This portrait is a reprint of the illustration printed in the Bhīśma parvan of the Poona critical edition of the Mahābhārata. The portrait of Vyāsa, like other pictures of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata, has been painted by Shrimant Bhavanrao Pandit Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh. In an article published in the Annals of B.O.R.I. Vol. III, 1921-22, he has discussed the lines followed by him in drawing these pictures. This portrait has been based on the details of daily life of ascetics etc. as portrayed in Indian scrulptures and statues belonging roughly to the period 300 B.C. to 150 B.C. assuming that they depict certain costumes and other details which must have also prevailed from very ancient times.

We receive some 40 Journals (30 Indians, 10 foreign) in exchange for our 'Purāṇa', and also a number of complimentary copies of their publications from several Indian and foreign Institutions, to which we are very grateful. We also acknowledge with thanks the receipt of 5 English magazines presented by the British Council.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Besides publishing the critical edition of the **Rāmacharitamānasa** of Gosvāmī Tulsīdāsa, mention of which has already been made in the previous reviews, the Trust has also just published an annotated edition with text and English translation of the **Devī-Māhātmya** of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, prepared by Dr. V. S. Agrawala. The text of this edition is mainly based on an old illustrated Nepali manuscript of Devī-Māhātmya of about 13th century A.D., a photo-copy of which was obtained from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Besides presenting a collated text this edition aims at two things, namely an interpretation of the cultural references in the Devī-Māhātmya which throw light on its chronological

अस्याङ्कस्य प्रथमे पृष्ठे संलग्नं व्यासचित्रं भाण्डारकरसंस्थानेनात्र प्रेषितमासीत् । अस्मिन् चित्रे व्यासः सञ्जयाय दिव्यदृष्टिं प्रयच्छति । इदं चित्रं तत्र प्रकाशितस्य महाभारतस्य भीष्मपर्वणि वर्त्तते तस्यैव अनुमुद्रणानि प्रेषितान्यत्र । महाभारतसंस्करणेऽस्मिन् संनिविष्टानां चित्राणां समानतयेदमपि चित्रं औंधप्रदेशस्य प्रधानेन श्रीमन्त भवनराव पण्डितप्रतिनिधि महोदयेन निर्मितमासीत् । भाण्डारकरसंस्थानस्य पत्रिकायास्तृतीये भागे अयं (१९२१-२२ ईशवीये) महानुभावः स्वचित्रनिर्माणस्य कांश्चित् सिद्धान्तान् प्रकाशयामास । ३००–१५० ई० पूर्वीये काले निर्मितासु मूर्तिषु चित्रेषु च तपस्विनां यादृशा स्वरूपा प्राप्यन्ते तानाधारीकृत्यैवेदं चित्रं निर्मितम् ।

'पुराण'पत्रिकाया विनिमयार्थं वयं ४० पत्रिकाः (३० भारतीयपत्रिकाः, १० विदेशीयपत्रिकाः) प्राप्नुमः । उपहारार्थमपि काश्चित् पत्रिकाः अस्मत्सविधे प्रेष्यन्ते । तासां पत्रिकाणां प्रकाशकसंस्थानेभ्यो वयं कृतज्ञतां प्रकाशयामः । बृटिशकौंसिलसंस्थायाः सकाशादपि पञ्च आङ्गलपत्रिका अत्र प्राप्यन्ते । अस्यै संस्थायै वयं स्वां महतीं कृतज्ञतां प्रकाशयामः ।

इतरप्रकाशनानि

पूर्वकार्यविवरणे उक्तं यद् श्रीगोस्वामितुलसीदासकृतरामचरितमानसस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणं काशिराजन्यासेन प्रकाशितम् । अधुना मार्कण्डेयपुराणान्तर्गतस्य देवीमाहात्म्यस्य आङ्गलानुवादसहितं व्याख्यात्मकमेकं संस्करणं डा० वासुदेवशरणअग्रवालमहोदयैः काशिराजन्यासाय सम्पादितं न्यासेन च प्रकाशितम् । अस्य संस्करणस्य पाठः त्रयोदशशताब्द्यां लिखितमेकं प्राचीनं नेपालदेशीयदेवनागरीलिपिकोशमाधारीकृत्य निर्धारितः । अस्य कोशस्यैका फोटोप्रतिलिपिः मुम्बईनगरस्थात् प्रिंस आफ वेल्सम्यूजियमसंस्थानादत्र प्राप्तासीत् ।

संवादनात्मकपाठसंस्करणप्रकाशनातिरिक्तमस्य संस्करणस्य मुख्योद्देश्यौ द्वौ स्तः—प्रथमस्तु देवीमाहात्म्ये सांस्कृतिकप्रसङ्गेषु कालक्रमानुसारेण विकसितस्य प्रक्षिप्तांशस्योद्घाटनम् । अत्र वैदिकाधारस्थलेषु विहङ्गमदृष्टिपातोऽस्ति येनास्य

problem, and secondaly a detailed investigation of its symbolism about Devī, Mahisha, the Daivāsuram battle motif etc. in the light of the Vedic background, which may be said to be an original feature and contribution of this edition. This publication has received wide appreciation from scholars of India and abroad.

Another important work named **'Matsya Purāṇa—An Interpretative Study'** written by Dr. V. S. Agrawala is also being published on the sacred occasion of the Vyāsa-Pūrṇimā day by the Trust as a fitting tribute to the memory of our distinguished Trustee and generous donor, late Pt. Murarilal Mehta, whose sad demise occured on February 28 last. He had donated to the Trust Rs. 49,000/- for the Matsya Purāṇa edition, which was the first donation of its kind.

In this study of the Matsya Purāṇa, the author's point of view is mainly directed to an interpretation of this important Purāṇa, which is also one of the oldest, in the light of the ancient Purāṇa-Vidyā allucidated on the basis of its Vedic sources on the one hand and in the light of the cultural and geographical material incorporated in the Purāṇic texts on the other. For the first time one will find here a consistent interpretation of the Purāṇic metaphysical doctrine of Sarga and Pratisarga, Bhuvanakośa, Shodaśa Mahādāna, Prasāda-Pratimāvarṇana and some of the major legends and concepts like that of Yajña-varāha and Skanda-Kārtikeya etc.

VEDA-PĀRĀYAṆA

It has already been mentioned in the previous reviews that the *Veda-pārāyaṇa* (reciting the complete text) from memory twice a year, on the occasions of the Vasanta-Pañchamī (January-Feb.) and the Vyāsa Pūrṇimā (July) forms a regular feature of the Trust activities. Accordingly the whole of the Ṛgveda along with its Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyaka and the Upanishads was recited from memory by Pt. Ramchandra Sadashiva Phanasarkar of Ratnagiri District (Mahārāshṭra) on the last Vasant Pañchamī Occassion.

संस्करणस्य मूलभूतस्वरूपं प्रतीकात्मिका व्याख्या च प्रवक्तुं शक्यते । इदं प्रकाशनन्तु भारतीयैरन्यैश्च विद्वद्भिः समभिनन्दितम् ।

अन्यच्च महत्त्वपूर्णो ग्रन्थः 'मत्स्यपुराणस्य व्याख्यात्मकम् अध्ययनम्' डा० वासुदेवशरणमहोदयैर्निर्मितः काशिराजन्यासेन च स आगामिनि पावने व्यासपूर्णिमादिवसे स्व० श्रीमुरारीलालमेहतामहोदयानां पुण्यस्मृतौ प्रकाशयिष्यते । श्रीमेहतामहोदयः काशीराजन्यासस्य सदस्य आसीत्, स मत्स्यपुराणप्रकाशनार्थं काशीराजन्यासाय ४९०००) रूप्यकाणि प्रदत्तवान् । ईदृशं दानमिदं प्रथममेव विद्यते । श्रीमेहतामहोदयाः गतफरवरीमासस्य २८ दिनाङ्के यशःशेषतां प्रापुः ।

मत्स्यपुराणस्यास्मिन् अध्ययने ग्रन्थकारस्य प्रधानदृष्टिस्तु व्याख्यात्मिकैव । इदं मत्स्यपुराणं प्राचीनतमपुराणेष्वन्यतमं वर्त्तते । अस्य व्याख्यानमत्र वैदिकीं पुराणविद्यामाश्रित्य, तत्रस्थां सांस्कृतिकीं भौगोलिकीं सामग्रीं चाश्रित्य कृतम् । अत्र सर्वप्रथमं सर्ग-प्रतिसर्ग-भुवनकोश-षोडशमहादान-प्रासादप्रतिमावर्णनविषयकसिद्धान्तानां संगतिपूर्णमाध्यात्मिकं व्याख्यानं कृतम् । कानिचित् प्रधानानि आख्यानानि यज्ञवराह-स्कन्दादिसम्बन्धीनि मन्तव्यानि चाप्यत्र व्याख्यातानि ।

वेदपारायणम्

इदं पूर्वकार्यविवरणे विज्ञापितं यद् सम्पूर्णवेदपाठस्य पारायणं प्रतिवर्षं द्विवारं वसन्तपञ्चम्यवसरे (जनवरी-फरवरी), व्यासपूर्णिमावसरे (जुलाई) च काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्येषु सुनियतमस्ति । स्वब्राह्मणोपनिषत्सहितस्य सम्पूर्णस्य ऋग्वेदस्य कण्ठाग्रीकृतं पारायणं महाराष्ट्रीयेण पण्डितरामचन्द्र सदाशिव फ़नसरकर महोदयेन गतवसन्तपञ्चम्यवसरे कृतम् ।

PURĀṆA PĀṬHA AND PRAVACHANA

According to the scheme of the Purāṇa-Pāṭha and Pravachana, already published in the 'Purāṇa' (Vol. III, No. 2, p. 402), the following Purāṇas have been recited and discources given thereon during this period :

Month	*Purāṇa recited*	*Discourses given by*
Māgha (Jan.)	Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.	Pt. K. V. Nilameghacharya, Prof. of Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University.
Falguna (Feb.)	Agni Purāṇa.	Pt. Badrinath Shukla, Prof. of Vārāṇaseya Sankrit University.
Chaitra (March)	Ananda Rāmāyaṇa.	Pt. Ramalakshmanacharya of Varanasi.

PURĀṆA-SAMMELANA

It is proposed to organise a Purāṇa-Sammelana, in the form of a Vyāsa-Utsava, of the local Pandits and Indologists on the day of the coming Vyāsa-Pūrṇimā (i. e. 6th July, 1963). Another Purāṇa-Sammelana of the international Indologists is also being arranged here by the Kashiraj Trust, immediately after the Delhi Session of the International Congress of Orientalists in January 1964.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

In the month of January last, Mr, H. Klumper, Attache for Cultural Affairs, Royal Netherlands Embassy, New Delhi, had an interview with His Highness, Maharaja Kashinaresh. He had a talk about the Indological work which is being carried on in the Netherlands. His Highness suggested to him the idea of establishing some cultural contact between the Kashiraj Trust and Dutch Indologists through the Netherlands Government. Mr Klumper appreciated this idea and promised to make efforts in this direction.

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनञ्च

‘पुराण’ पत्रिकायां (तृतीयभागस्य द्वितीयाङ्के ४०२ पृष्ठे) प्रकाशितायाः पुराणपाठप्रवचनयोजनाया अनुसारेणाधोलिखितानां पुराणानां पाठः तेषां प्रवचनानि च कृतानि :—

मासः	पुराणम्	प्रवक्तारः
माघः (जनवरी)	ब्रह्माण्डपुराणम्	पं० के० वी० नीलमेघाचार्यः, प्राचार्यो वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य ।
फाल्गुनः (फरवरी)	अग्निपुराणम्	पं० बदरीनाथ शुक्लः, प्राचार्यो वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य ।
चैत्रः (मार्च)	आनन्दरामायणम्	पं० रामलक्ष्मणाचार्यः, वाराणस्याः ।

पुराणसम्मेलनम्

आगामिनि व्यासपूर्णिमादिवसे (जुलाईमासस्य ६ दिनाङ्के) काशीस्थपण्डितानां प्राच्यविद्याविशारदानामन्येषां विदुषां च व्यासोत्सवरूपेण एकं सम्मेलनम् आयोजयिष्यते । अन्यच्च भारतीविद्यावतां विदुषां सम्मेलनम् आगामिनि जनवरीमासे देहलीनगरे आयोज्यमानस्य भारतीविद्याविशारदानाम् अन्तरराष्ट्रीयकांग्रेसाधिवेशनस्यानन्तरं काश्यां काशिराजन्यासेन कारयिष्यते ।

विशिष्टा अतिथयः

विगते जनवरीमासे सांस्कृतिककार्यार्थं नईदेहलीनगरे प्रतिष्ठापितस्य नीदरलैण्डदूतावासस्य श्री एच० के० क्रुम्फरमहोदयो महामहिमकाशिराजं द्रष्टुमागतः । स नीदरलैण्डदेशे प्रचलितस्य भारतीविद्यासम्बन्धिकार्यस्य विषये वार्त्तालापमकरोत् । महामहिममहाराजैः नीदरलैण्डदेशीयानां विद्याविशारदानां काशिराजन्यासस्य च मध्ये सांस्कृतिकसम्बन्धसंस्थापनाय प्रस्ताव कृतः । श्री क्रुम्फरमहोदयेनायं प्रस्तावोऽभिनन्दितः ।

Later on, in February, on the suggestion of the Netherlands-Ambassador in India, Dr. G. H Schokker, a young Sanskritist at the University of Leiden, visited His Highness and acquainted himself with the work of the Purāṇa-Deptt. of the Trust. He also promised to personally meet the Indologists in Netherlands on his return there.

The Netherlands Ambassador in India has also sent to His Highness the famous book 'The Goose' of Prof. Vogel, and a copy of the 'Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology' published by the Kern Institute, Leiden, as complimentary copies, as a first step towards establishing the cultural liason between Netherlands and the Kashiraj Trust, for which the Trust is much grateful.

Professor Eberhard Büser of West Germany also interviewed His Highness some time afterwards, and showed his interest in the Purāṇa projects of the Trust.

The following dignitaries were guests of His Highness at Nadesar Palace, to whom copies of 'Purāṇa' Bulletin and the Devī-Māhātmya were presented :—

1. Sri Morarji Desai, Finance Minister of India
2. Sri Lal Bahadur Sastri, Home Minisrer of India
3. Dr. Sampurnanand, Governor of Rajasthan
4. Sri C. B. Gupta, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh
5. Sri Binodanand Jha, Chief Minister of Bihar
6. Sri Alagu Rai Sastri, Minister of Uttar Pradesh

Besides the above, Lord Lytton, the grandson of the Viceroy Lord Lytton who remained the viceroy of India in 1876-80, was also the distinguished guest of His Highness.

We congratulate our distinguished Trustee, Dr. S. K. Chatterji for his receiving the title of *'Padma-Vibhushana'* from the Govt. of India, for his high literary achievements and merits.

तदन्तरं फरवरीमासे भारतस्थनीदरलैण्डराजदूतस्य सम्मत्यनुसारेण डा० जी० एच० शोकरमहोदयः श्रीकाशिनरेशं द्रष्टुमागतः । सोऽत्र पुराणकार्याणां परिचयं प्राप्तवान् । नीदरलैण्डदेशं प्रतिनिवृत्य स तत्रस्थैर्भारतीविद्याविशारदैर्विद्वद्भिः सह सम्बन्धं स्थापयिष्यतीति तेन प्रतिश्रुतम् । भारतस्थेन नीदरलैण्डराजदूतेनापि प्रोफेसर वोगेलकृतं सुप्रख्यातं पुस्तकं 'The Goose' लेडेननगरस्थात् प्रकाशितं 'भारतीयपुरातत्त्वविद्यायाः वार्षिकी ग्रंथानुक्रमणी' च श्रीमहामहिम्नेमहाराजाय प्रेषिते । अमुना प्रकारेण नीदरलैण्डदेशस्य काशिराजन्यासस्य च मध्ये सांस्कृतिकसंबन्धसंस्थापनस्य प्रारम्भः आभ्यामुपहाररूपेण प्राप्ताभ्यां पुस्तकाभ्यां कृतः ।

तत्पश्चात् पश्चिमजर्मनीदेशस्य प्रोफेसर एबर्हार्ड बूसर महोदयो महामहिममहाराजं द्रष्टुमागतः प्रदर्शितवांश्च स्वसौहार्दं न्यासस्य पुराणप्रकाशनकार्यविषये ।

निम्नलिखितविशिष्टपदाधिकारिणो नदेसरराजभवने महामहिममहाराजस्यातिथयोऽभूवन् ।

१. श्रीमुरारजी देसाई, भारतराष्ट्रस्य वित्तमंत्री

२. श्रीलालबहादुर शास्त्री, भारतराष्ट्रस्य गृहमंत्री

३. डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्दः, राजस्थानप्रदेशस्य राज्यपालः

४. श्रीचन्द्रभानुगुप्तः, उत्तरप्रदेशस्य मुख्यमन्त्री ।

५. श्रीविनोदानन्द झा विहारप्रदेशस्य मुख्यमंत्री

६. श्रीअलगूराय शास्त्री, उत्तरप्रदेशस्य मंत्री

१८७६-८० ई० वर्षेषु बृटिशभारतराज्यस्य साम्राज्यप्रतिनिधेः (Viceray) लार्डलिटनमहोदयस्य पौत्रः लार्डलिटनमहाशयोऽपि महामहिममहाराजस्य विशिष्टातिथिरभूत् ।

वयं काशिराजन्यासस्य सम्मानितन्यासिनः श्री डा० सुनीतिकुमारचैटर्जिमहोदयान् स्वविद्वत्तायै भारतराजकीयस्य पद्मविभूषणाख्योपाधेः प्राप्तयेऽभिनन्दयामः ।

In the end we express our deep sense of sorrow on the sad demise of our former President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who had been intimately connected with the Kashiraj Trust from its inception, Sri Pt. Murarilal Mehta of Varanasi, who was a Trustee of the Kashiraj Trust and who had donated, as already mentioned above, a generous sum of Rs. 49,000/- for the publication of the Matsya Purāṇa edition, and Sri Patanjali Sastri, the former Chairman of the Central Sanskrit Board of the Government of India, who helped the Trust in procuring the financial assistance from the Govt. for carrying on its Purāṇa projects.

अन्ततो वयं भारतदेशस्य प्रथमराष्ट्रपतेः श्री राजेन्द्रप्रसादमहोदयस्य देहावसानं विषयीकृत्य स्वशोकं प्रकाशयामः । श्री डा० राजेन्द्रप्रसादमहोदयानां काशिराजन्यासेन सह तस्य स्थापनकालादेव घनिष्ठः सम्बन्धोऽवर्त्तत । काशिराजन्यासस्य सम्मानितन्यासिनः श्री पं० मुरारीलालमेहतामहोदयस्य देहावसानं प्रत्यपि वयं महान्तं शोकं प्रकाशयामः । श्रीमेहतामहोदयः मत्स्यपुराणप्रकाशनाय ४९००० रूप्यकाणि काशिराजन्यासाय प्रायच्छत् । श्रीपतञ्जलिशास्त्रिमहोदयस्य देहावसानं प्रत्यपि वयं शोकं प्रकाशयामः । श्रीपतञ्जलिशास्त्री केन्द्रीयसंस्कृतबोर्डसंस्थायाः अध्यक्षपदवीमलंचकार । तेन काशिराजन्यासस्य भारतशासकेभ्योऽनुदानप्राप्तये परं साहाय्यं कृतम् ।

COMMUNICATION

A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON HINDUISM

Considering the growth of specialization and the increasing number of publications in the various fields of Indology, research on Hinduism already stands in need of a bibliography exclusively concerning this particular field, where it will serve scholars as a guide and tool. Such research aids are already available in the fields of Veda, Buddhism, Indian Archaeology and Anthropology. The lack of a similar tool for the study of *Hinduism* constitutes an even more serious shortcoming in our Indological equipment. With a view to meeting this need a detailed plan has been drafted in the summer of 1962 at *the Institute of Oriental Studies* (*Utrecht*) by J.F. Sprockhoff under the direction of J. Gonda. The general idea of this plan as well as the detailed report on the ways and means of its implementation have met with favourable reactions from some colleagues to whom the plan could be submitted so far.

Leaving aside the details of the plan, for the purpose of the present communication the following general features may be noted. The bibliography is to be—like the already existing ones mentioned above—a critical one. It is further intended to encompass materials and studies relating to religion, philosophy, law and customs—each in its widest sense—as well as all other documentation on the cultural history of India as far as it has source-value for the study of Hinduism. This means that not only Sanskrit sources but also the vernacular sources will be registered. As regards the secondary literature of the last hundred years as well as recent publications, it is to be taken into account that the results of research on Hinduism are no longer being made available exclusively through the medium of western European languages. It seems clear therefore that the bibliography project can be implemented only through international co-operation.

हिन्दूधर्मस्य ग्रन्थानुक्रमणी

विज्ञप्तिः

प्राच्यविद्यायाः विभिन्नक्षेत्रेषु वैशिष्ट्याभिवृद्धिं प्रकाशितग्रन्थानां संख्याधिक्यञ्च समवलोक्य हिन्दूधर्मस्यानुसन्धानाय तद्विषयानुबद्धानुक्रमणिकाया अपेक्षाऽनुभूयते याऽनुक्रमणिका अध्येतृभ्यः पथप्रदर्शिका साधिका च भविष्यति ।

वैदिकवाङ्मयस्य, बौद्धधर्मस्य, भारतीयपुरातत्त्वविज्ञानस्य नृजातिविज्ञानस्य च केचिद् अनुसंधानसहायका ग्रन्था उपलभ्यन्ते । भारतीयविद्याऽन्तर्गतस्य हिन्दूधर्मस्याध्ययनार्थममुना प्रकारेण साधनाभावो वर्त्तते, इति तु महती न्यूनताऽनुभूयते । अस्याः न्यूनतायाः पूर्त्यर्थं 'इन्स्टीच्यूट आफ ओरियण्टल स्टडीज', नाम्न्यां संस्थायां श्री जे० एफ्० स्प्राखौफमहोदयेन श्री जे० गोंडामहाशयस्य निर्देशने १९६२ ख्रीष्टाब्दस्य ग्रीष्मकाले एका बृहती योजना निर्मिता । अस्याः योजनायाः सामान्यधारणाविषयेऽस्याः कार्यवाहिकपद्धतिविषये सुविस्तृतविवरणे च तैः सहयोगिभिरनुकूलप्रतिक्रिया प्रदर्शिता येभ्य इयं योजना विज्ञापितासीत् ।

योजनायाः विस्तृतविवरणं वर्जयित्वा वर्तमानपत्रव्यवहारार्थं निम्नोद्दिष्टा सामान्यविषया अवधेयाः—उपरिनिर्दिष्टा अनुक्रमणिका इव इयमनुक्रमणिकाऽपि आलोचनात्मिका भविष्यति । इदमपि अभीष्टं यद् धर्म-दर्शन-विधिशास्त्र-लोक-व्यवहारादिविषयकं सम्पूर्णमध्ययनोपकरणं तथा च भारतस्य सांस्कृतिकेतिहास-सम्बद्धाऽन्याऽपि सामग्री चान्तर्गताऽत्र भविष्यति । अत्रेदमपि ज्ञातव्यं यत्केवलमत्र संस्कृतग्रन्थानामेव ग्रहणं न भवति, अपितु भाषाग्रन्थानामपि समावेशो भविष्यति । विगतवर्षशतं व्याप्य प्रकाशितग्रन्थान् अथचाधुनिककाले प्रकाशितान् ग्रन्थान् समवलोक्येदमपि स्मर्तव्यं यद् हिन्दूधर्मविषयकान्वेषणकार्यस्य फलं न केवलं पाश्चात्यभाषाभिः योरोपमहादेशीयभाषाभिश्चैव सुलभं क्रियते । अतएवेदं स्पष्टतया प्रतीयते यदियमनुक्रमणिकायोजनाऽन्तर्राष्ट्रीयसहयोगेनैव सफला भविष्यति ।

So far we are not aware whether a similar extension project is being contemplated or put into operation elsewhere. It will be welcomed if any such plans could be made known and co-ordinated with the project planned at Utrecht. Through the present communication scholars in this field are invited to extend their help and co-operation. Requests for further information concerning method, organization and planning of the bibliography, as well as offers of co-operation under whatever form will be welcomed at the following address :

J. Gonda
c/o Institute of Oriental Studies
Nobelstraat 2 B
Utrecht—Netherlands.

(mentioning : "ref. bibliography on Hinduism").

It is hoped that work on the project can be started in the course of 1963. Scholars in this field are therefore requested kindly to further the project by sending offprints and review-copies carrying the usual data of date and place of publication, to the above address.

Further memoranda on the progress of the project will from time to time be made available in the columns of Indological journals.

J. F. Sprockhoff
h. t. Kiel.

J. Gonda
Utrecht.

न ज्ञायतेऽस्माभिर्यदमुना प्रकारेण विस्तृतयोजनाऽन्यत्रापि कुत्रचिद् विचार्यमाणा प्रयोज्यमाना वा तिष्ठति। यदि एतादृश्या योजनायाः सूचनाऽत्र प्रदीयते 'उतरेख्त' नगरसंस्थायाः योजनया सह संबद्ध्यते च तदेतदस्माभिरभिनन्दनीयं भवेत्। अनया विज्ञप्त्या अस्मिन् क्षेत्रे प्रवर्त्तमाना विद्वांसः सहयोगाय साहाय्याय च प्रार्थ्यन्ते। अनुक्रमणिकायाः सम्बन्धे पद्धति-संघटनयोजना-साहाय्यप्रदानादिविषये सूचनाप्राप्त्यर्थं निम्नलिखितपरिचयानुसारेण पत्रव्यवहारः प्रार्थ्यते :—

जे० गोंडा
द्वारा—इन्स्टीच्यूट आफ ओरियण्टल स्टडीज
नोबेलस्ट्राट २ बी
उतरेख्त-नीदरलैण्ड्स

(अयं च निर्देशोऽप्यत्र कर्तव्य :—विषयः : हिन्दूधर्मस्यानुक्रमणिका) आशास्यते यद् अस्य योजनाविषयककार्यस्य १९६३ ख्रीष्टाब्दे प्रारम्भो भविष्यति। कार्यशीलविदुषां पुरतो विज्ञापनाऽस्ति यद् लेखानां प्रकाशितग्रन्थानाम् अनुमुद्रणानि समालोचनानि च मुद्रणस्थानतिथ्यादिसूचनया सह पूर्वोक्तं स्थानं प्रति प्रेषितव्यानि।

योजनाया विषये आगामिन्यो विज्ञप्तयो यथाकालं प्राच्यविद्यापत्रिकासु प्रकाशिता भविष्यन्ति।

जे० एफ्० स्प्राखौफ
एच० टी० कील

जे० गोंडा
उतरेख्त

PUBLICATIONS OF
THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

'PURĀṆA' BULLETIN, Vols. I to V (1959-1963), with a supplement containing Subject-wise as well as Author-wise Index of these five volumes. Price: each volume Rs 12 or £ 1; Supplement Rs. 1.25 or 2 shillings. Supplement supplied free, if the whole set of the five volumes is purchased.

RĀMACHARITA-MĀNASA: The great Hindi Poem of Goswāmī Tulasīdāsa, critically edited on the basis of a number of old manuscripts, both in India and abroad, written within the hundred years of the Poet's death; prepared with an Introduction by Prof. Vishwanath Prasad Misra. Price Rs. 6.50, Library Edn. Rs. 15/-.

DEVĪ-MĀHĀTMYA: An annotated edition of the Durgā-Saptaśatī or the Devī-Māhātmya with an English translation; the text primarily based on an old Nepali Ms. of about 13th Century A.D.; symbolical and cultural significance of the text fully explained. Prepared by Dr. V.S. Agrawala. Price Rs. 10, Lib. Edn. Rs. 15.

MATSYA-PURĀṆA—A STUDY: Written by Dr. V. S. Agrawala. The author's point of view is mainly directed to an interpretation of this important Purāṇa in the Vedic background on the one hand and in the light of the cultural, geographical and historical material incorporated in the Purāṇas on the other. Price Rs. 25.

Available from: The General Secretary, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi.

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES
OF
THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

1. His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narayan Singh, M.A., D.Litt.; Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi—(*Chairman*)

Trustee nominated by the Govt. of India :—

2. Dr. Panna Lal, M.A., B.SC., LL.B., D.Litt., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retd.); 19, Thornhill Road, Allahabad.

Trustees nominated by the Govt. of Uttar Pradesh :—

3. Dr. Sampurnanand, D.LITT.; Governor of Rajasthan

4. Pt. Kamalapati Tripathi; Minister of Finance, Uttar Pradesh.

Trustees nominated by His Highness the Maharaja of Banaras :—

5. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D. Litt. (London), F. A. S. B., Professor Emeritus of Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta; Chairman, West Bengal Legislative Council, Calcutta.

6. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, M.A., D. Litt., M. P.; Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau (Malwa).

Statement of ownership and other particulars about

पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

1.	Place of Publication	Fort, Ramnagar, Varanasi.
2.	Periodicity of Publication	Half-yearly
3.	Printer's Name	Rameshwar Pathak
	Nationality	India
	Address	The Tara Printing Works, Kamachha, Varanasi
4.	Publisher's Name	Ramesh Chandra De, General Secretary, All-India Kashiraj Trust
	Nationality	Indian
	Address	All-India Kashiraj Trust, Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi
5.	Editor's Names with Addresses	Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid (Sāṅga-Veda Vidyalaya, Varanasi). V. Raghavan (University, Madras), V. S. Agrawala (B. H. U., Varanasi), A. S. Gupta (Editor-in-Charge) (Purāṇa-Deptt., Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi).
	Nationality	Indian
6.	Name of the owner	All-India Kashiraj Trust, Fort, Ramnagar, Varanasi

I, Ramesh Chandra De, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Ramesh Chandra De,
Publisher.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The All-India Kashiraj Trust has decided to invite Indologists, interested in Purāṇic studies, to Varanasi just after the Delhi-Session of the International Congress of Orientalists in January 1964, to acquaint them with Purāṇic activities of the Kashiraj Trust and to invite their suggestions and active co-operation. The detailed programme will be sent to scholars separately. The scholars willing to attend will kindly write to the General Secretary for further information.

SUPPLEMENT

TO

PURĀṆA

पुराणम्

[Half-yearly Bulletin of the Purāṇa-Department]

(VOL. V. NO. 2)

INDEX

TO

Purāṇa, Vols. I to V (1959-1963)

ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST
FORT RAMNAGAR, VARANASI

July, 1963

सम्पादक-मण्डल

पद्मभूषण पण्डितराज श्री राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविड ;
अध्यक्ष, साङ्गवेद विद्यालय, रामघाट, वाराणसी ।

पद्मभूषण डा. वे० राघवन्, एम० ए०, पी० एच० डी० ;
अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, मद्रास विश्वविद्यालय, मद्रास ।

डा. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, एम० ए०, पी० एच० डी०, डी० लिट् ;
प्रोफेसर, भारती महाविद्यालय, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी ।

श्री आनन्दस्वरूप गुप्त एम० ए०, शास्त्री ; पुराण-विभाग,
सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यास, फोर्ट रामनगर, वाराणसी ।

EDITORIAL BOARD

Padma-Bhushan Paṇḍita-rāja Śri Rājeśvara Śāstri Draviḍa ; Principal, Sāṅga-Veda-Vidyālaya, Varanasi.

Padma-Bhushan Dr. V. Raghavan, M. A., Ph. D. ; Professor and Head of Sanskrit Dept., Madras University, Madras.

Dr. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, M. A., Ph.D., D. Litt ; Professor, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University.

Shri Anand Swarup Gupta, M. A., Shastri ; Purāṇa Dept., All-India Kashiraj Trust. (*Editor-in-Charge*)

SUPPLEMENT

TO

PURĀṆA

(Vol. V., No. 2 ; July, 1963)

INDEX TO VOLS. I—V

A—Classified Subject-Index
B—Author-Index

PREPARED

by

DR. GANGA SAGAR RAI, M.A., PH.D.
Research Assistant, Purāṇa Department

ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST
FORT RAMNAGAR, VARAṆASI

PURAṆA

Year	Volume	Part	Pages
July, 1959	I	1	1—114
Feb., 1960	„	2	115—250
July, 1960	II	1—2	1—320
Jan., 1961	III	1	1—188
July, 1961	„	2	189—406
Jan., 1962	IV	1	1—230
July, 1962	„	2	231—42
Jan., 1963	V	1	1—194
July, 1963	„	2	195—394

[illegible]
卐 ॐ
पुस्तक सं०..................
आगत सं०..................
दिनांक..................
गुरुकुल पुस्तकालय कांगड़ी.

A—CLASSIFIED SUBJECT-INDEX

I. Purāṇa—General

(a) DEFINITION AND IMPORTANCE

	Vol.	pp.
1. Purāṇa-Lakṣaṇāni (पुराणलक्षणानि) (1) By *Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi.*	I	130-138
2. Purāṇa-Lakṣaṇāni (पुराणलक्षणानि) (2) By *Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi.*	II	107-121
3. Bhāratīya-Rājanītau Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇam (भारतीयराजनीतौ पुराणपञ्चलक्षणम्) By *Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid.*	IV	236-244
4. Purāṇa-Mahimā (पुराणमहिमा) (Compilation).	I	2
5. Purāṇa-Mahimā (पुराणमहिमा) (Compilation).	II	12
6. Vedeṣu Purāṇa-Mahattvam (वेदेषु पुराणमहत्त्वम्) By *Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi.*	I	21-30
7. Purāṇeṣu Purāṇa-Mahattvam (पुराणेषु पुराणमहत्त्वम्) (Compilation).	I	125-126
8. Purāṇa-Mahattvam (पुराणमहत्त्वम्) (Compilation).	III	46
9. Purāṇa-Prasaṅgaḥ (पुराणप्रसङ्गः) (Extract from Madhusudan Ojha's *Jagadguru-Vaibhavam*)	I	184-187

(b) RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY AND MYTHOLOGY

	Vol.	pp.
1. The Purāṇas as Authority for Highest Truth (*Extract* from *Swami Vivekananda's Works*, Vol. V)	V	5

		Vol.	pp.
2.	Purāṇas as the vehicles of India's Philosophy of History By *Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar*	V	6-10
3.	The Philosophy of the 'It' By *B. Heimann.*	III	297-308
4.	Pāśupata Yoga By *V. S. Agrawala.*	I	233-245
5.	Sambhavaitihya-Vicāraḥ (सम्भवैतिह्यविचारः) By *Anant Shastri Pharake.*	III	222-227
6.	The Sānkhyization of the Emanation Doctrine shown in a Critical Analysis of Texts. By *P. Hacker*	IV	298-338
7.	Kati-Tattvāni (कति तत्त्वानि) By *Vraja Vallabha Dviveda.*	II	168-178
8.	The Problem of Gaṇeśa in the Purāṇas By Juan *Roger Riviere.*	IV	96-102
9.	Conception of Sarasvatī in the Purāṇas By *A. S. Gupta.*	IV	55-95
10.	Devi-Māhātmya By *V. S. Agrawala.*	V	64-89
11.	Devī-Māhātmya : Upodghātaḥ (देवीमाहात्म्यः—उपोद्घातः) By *V. S. Agrawala* (Tr. into Sanskrit by *A. S. Gupta*)	V	267-279
12.	Bhagavatī Lakṣmīḥ (भगवती लक्ष्मीः) By *N. N. Chaudhuri*	IV	103-111
13.	The One Rudra and the Many By *V. S. Agrawala.*	II	211-224
14.	Viṣṇu and Kalpa-Vṛkṣa (Extract from Mahābhārata)	I	120

		Vol.	pp.
15.	Brahmā Padmayoniḥ (Extract from Madhusudan Ojha's *Jagadguru-Vaibhavam*)	II	282-284
16.	Hiraṇya-Garbha By *V. S. Agrawala*	II	285-306
17.	The Pañcavaktra or Kīrtimukha Motif By *V. S. Agrawala*	II	97-106
18.	Shaṭkulīyāḥ By *V. S. Agrawala*	II	23-42
19.	Yajña-Varāha : A Study By *V. S. Agrawala*	V	199-235
20.	Dharmaśāstretihāsa-Purāṇānāṁ Vedopabṛṁhaṇatvam (धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणानां वेदोपबृंहणत्वम्) By *K. V. Nilameghacharya*	IV	34-54
21.	Bhukti-Mukti Ideal in the Purāṇas By *V. S. Agrawala*	I	160-162
22.	Purāṇa-Vidyā By *V. S. Agrawala*	I	89-100
23.	Purāṇānāṁ Pratipādyam (पुराणानां प्रतिपाद्यम्) By *Badrinath Shukla*	II	43-51
24.	Allegorical Interpretation of the Myths (Extract from George W. Cox's '*Mythology of the Indo-Aryan Nations*')	I	127
25.	Some Significant Allegories in the Purāṇas By *A. D. Pusalker*	III	8-21
26.	The Legend of Pṛthu By *Ronald M. Huntington*	II	188-210
27.	Kadrū, Vinatā and the Wager By *S. A. Dange*	III	203-214

(c) STOTRAS AND SŪKTIS

(i) Stotras—

	Vol.	pp.
1. Vyāsa-Mahimā (व्यासमहिमा)	I	1
2. Vyāsa-Mahimā (व्यासमहिमा)	I	123-124
3. Vyāsa-Mahimā (व्यासमहिमा)	II	13
4. Vyāsa-Mahimā (व्यासमहिमा)	III	22
5. Vyāsa-Vandanā (व्यासवन्दना)	IV	231
6. Vyāsa-Varṇanam (व्यासवर्णनम्)	IV	232
7. Viṣṇoravatāraḥ Kṛṣṇadvaipāyano Vyāsaḥ (विष्णोरवतारः कृष्णद्वैपायनो व्यासः)	III	189-191
8. Vyāsa-Praśastiḥ (व्यासप्रशस्तिः)	V	195
9. Viṣṇu-stuti-sūcī (विष्णुस्तुतिसूची) By *R. S. Bhattacharya*	II	84-93
10. Gajendra-Mokṣaṇaṁ Nāma Viṣṇu-stotram (गजेन्द्रमोक्षणं नाम विष्णुस्तोत्रम्) (Compiled, with notes by *A.S. Gupta*)	III	195-202
11. Kṛṣṇa-kṛta-Rudra-stotram (कृष्णकृतरुद्रस्तोत्रम्)	II	1
12. A Commentary on the Rudra-stotra By *V.S. Agrawala*	II	2-11
13 Rati-kṛtā Śiva-stutiḥ (रतिकृता शिवस्तुतिः)	III	319-320
14. Yājñavalkya-kṛta Sarasvatī-stotram (याज्ञवल्क्यकृतसरस्वतीस्तोत्रम्)	III	1-3
15. Ambuvīci-kṛtaṁ Sarasvatī-stotram (अम्बुवीचिकृतं सरस्वतीस्तोत्रम्)	IV	1-2
16. Devī-Mahimā (देवीमहिमा)	II	94-96
17. Indra-Kṛtā Śrī-stutiḥ (इन्द्रकृता श्रीस्तुतिः)	V	1-4
18. Viṣṇu-Kṛtaṁ Gaṇeśa-stotram (विष्णुकृतं गणेशस्तोत्रम्)	IV	215
19. Agastya-Proktaṁ Pāpa-śamanaṁ nāma Hari-Śankara-stotram (अगस्त्यप्रोक्तं पापशमनं नाम हरिशङ्करस्तोत्रम्)	IV	233-235

		Vol.	pp.
20.	Paurāṇikāni stotrāṇi (पौराणिकानि स्तोत्राणि) (Compilation)	I	3-9
21.	Varāha-stutiḥ (वराहस्तुतिः) (Compiled, with notes by *A. S. Gupta*)	V	196-198
22.	Padma-Purāṇa-stotra-sūcī By *R. S. Bhattacharya*	I	151-155
23.	The Stotras in the Matsya-Purāṇa : An Analysis By *A. S. Gupta*	I	156-159

(ii) SŪKTIS

		Vol.	pp.
1.	Purāṇa-Sūktayaḥ (पुराणसूक्तयः) (from Śiva-Purāṇa)	I	128-129
2.	Paurāṇika-Subhāṣitāni (पौराणिकसुभाषितानि) (from Matsya-Purāṇa)	I	10-11
3.	Purāṇa-Subhāṣitāni (पुराणसुभाषितानि) (from Harivaṁśa Purāṇa)	III	61-63
4.	Padma-Purāṇa-Subhāṣitāni (पद्मपुराणसुभाषितानि)	IV	154-157
5.	Purāṇa-Sūktayaḥ (पुराणसूक्तयः)	IV	408
6.	Purāṇa-Subhāṣitāni (पुराणसुभाषितानि)	V	61-63
7.	Purāṇa-Sūktayaḥ (पुराणसूक्तयः) (from Vāmana P.)	V	350-351

(d) HISTORICAL

		Vol.	pp.
1.	The Date of the Purāṇas (1) By *S. D. Gyani*	I	213-219
2.	The Date of the Purāṇas (2) By *S. D. Gyani*	II	68-75
3.	The Ikṣvāku Genealogy in the Purāṇas By *Rai Krishna Dasa* (tr. from Hindi into English by *V. S. Agrawala*)	II	128-150

		Vol.	pp.
4.	Studies in the Purāṇic History, Genealogy and chronology in Modern Times By *D. R. Mankad*	IV	3-22
5.	Genealogy of Solar Dynasty in the Purāṇas and the Rāmāyaṇa By *A. D. Pusalker*	IV	22-33
6.	Some Purāṇic passages corroborated by Inscriptional and Numismatic Evidence By *V. V. Mirashi*	I	31-38

(e) GEOGRAPHICAL

1.	Purāṇic Geography: Catur-dvīpa and Sapta-dvīpa By *Rai Krishna Dasa* (tr. from Hindi into English by *V. S. Agrawala*))	I	202-205
2.	Rāmaṇīyakam—The Island of Nāgas By *S. A. Dange*	III	64-71
3.	The Four World Oceans and the Dvīpa-theory of the Middle ages By *B. H. Kapadia*	III	215-221
4.	Studies in the Purāṇic Geography and Ethnography—Śāka-dvīpa By *Buddha Prakash*	III	253-287
5.	The Geographical Texts of the Purāṇas: A Further Critical Study (1) By *C. A. Lewis*	IV	112-145
6.	The Geographical Texts of the Purāṇas: A Further Critical Study (2) By *C. A. Lewis*	IV	245-276
7.	Bhuvanakośa Janapadas of Bhārata-Varṣa By *V. S. Agrawala*	V	160-181

		Vol.	pp.
8.	The Four-fold Division of the Heavenly River in the Purāṇas By *B. H. Kapadia*	IV	146-153
9.	The Land of the Kambojas By *D. C. Sircar*	V	251-257
10.	Identification of Kamboja : Reconsidered By *V. S. Agrawala*	V	355-359
11.	Mahī-Sāgara-Saṅgama By *D. C. Sircar*	V	352-354

(f) MISCELLANEOUS

		Vol.	pp.
1.	Nārāyaṇa-Mahārṇavaḥ By *V. S. Agrawala*	II	313-315
2.	The Purāṇas in the Vyavahāra-portion of Medieval Smṛti-works By *J. D. M. Derrett*	V	11-30
3.	Purāṇa-Digests By *Chintaharan Chakravarti*	V	31-38
4.	Purāṇārtha-Saṅgraha of Veṅkaṭarāya By *V. Raghavan*	V	47-60
5.	Śukaṃ prati Vyāsasyopadeśaḥ (शुकं प्रति व्यासस्योपदेशः) (compilation)	II	14-16
6.	Did Vyāsa owe his origin to Berossus ? By *R. C. Hazra*	II	17-22
7.	The Genius of Vyāsa (extract from Shri Aurobindo's '*Vyāsa and Vālmīki*')	III	192-194
8.	Padminī-Vidyā By *V. S. Agrawala*	I	188-197
9.	Sapta-Sāgara-Mahādāna By *V. S. Agrawala*	I	206-212

		Vol.	pp.
10.	Glorification of Married life (compiled and translated By *V. S. Agrawala*)	II	82-83
11.	Prācīnagrantheṣu Purāṇānāṃ Nirdeśaḥ (प्राचीनग्रन्थेषु पुराणानां निर्देशः) (Compiled By *R. S. Bhattacharya*)	IV	182-183
12.	Prācīnagrantheṣu Purāṇānām-ullekhaḥ (प्राचीनग्रन्थेषु पुराणानामुल्लेखः) (Compiled by *R. S. Bhattacharya*)	III	309-310
13.	Purāṇa-Saṃśodhane-Bhāratīya-Rājanīteḥ samyagālocanam āvaśyakam (पुराणसंशोधने भारतीयराजनीतेः सम्यगालोचनमावश्यकम्) By *Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid*	III	72-91
14.	Purāṇeṣvapāṇinīya-Prayogāḥ (पुराणेष्वपाणिनीयप्रयोगाः) By *A.S. Gupta*	IV	277-297
15.	Important words from the Purāṇas (*Notes*) By *V. S. Agrawala*	II	307-312
16.	Tato Jayamudīrayet By *Sylvain Levi* (tr. from French into English by *Pramod Chandra*)	II	112-119
17.	Western Indology and the Purāṇas By *Juan Roger Riviere*	III	4-7
18.	European Translations of Purāṇic Texts By *Juan Roger Riviere*	V	243-250
19.	Tamil Versions of the Purāṇas By *V. Raghavan*	II	225-242
20.	Telugu Versions of the Purāṇas By *K. V. Ramakoti Shastri*	IV	384-407
21.	Textual Notes By *A. S. Gupta*	III	331-332

II. Purāṇa—Particular

1. MATSYA-PURĀṆA

		Vol.	pp.
1.	An Unique two Khaṇḍa-Version of the Matsya-Purāṇa By *V. Raghavan*	I	42-57
2.	A Study of the Textual Peculiarities of a Śāradā Manuscript of the Matsya-Purāṇa By *A. S. Gupta*	I	58-71
3.	The Mss. of the Matsya-Purāṇa collated for its projected critical edition By *A. S. Gupta*	I	101-111
4.	Devanāgarī-Source of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya-Purāṇa By *A.S. Gupta*	I	163-174
5.	Inventory of the Matsya-Purāṇa-Mss. By *V. Raghavan*	I	220-232
6.	Study of a newly acquired Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya-Purāṇa By *A.S. Gupta*	II	120-127
7.	On Some Readings of the Matsya-Purāṇa By *Nilmadhav Sen*	IV	193-196
8.	Kashmirian Version of the Matsya-Purāṇa By *A. S. Gupta*	V	333-345
9.	A Sample Edition of the Matsya-Purāṇa, Adhyāya I By *V. Raghavan*	IV	409-417
10.	Some Linguistic aberrations in the Matsya-Purāṇa By *Nilmadhav Sen*	V	346-349

		Vol.	pp.
11.	Keṣucin-Matsya-Purāṇa-Ślokeṣu Gadya-bhramaḥ (केषुचिन्मत्स्यपुराणश्लोकेषु गद्यभ्रमः) By *Thakur Prasad Dvivedi*	I	72-79
12.	Gleanings from the Matsya-Purāṇa (1) By *V. Raghavan*	I	80·88
13.	Further Gleanings from the Matsya-Purāṇa (2) By *V. Raghavan*	III	321-330
14.	A Metrical Analysis of the Matsya-Purāṇa (1) By *C. R. Swaminathan*	II	243-251
15.	A Metrical Analysis of the Matsya-Purāṇa (2) By *C. R. Swaminathan*	III	120-133
16.	Home of the Matsya-Purāṇa By *S. G. Kantawala*	III	115-119
17.	Yaksha-worship in the Matsya-Purāṇa By *V.S. Agrawala* and ***Motichandra***	I	198-201
18.	Matsya-Purāṇa and Promiscuity By *S. G. Kantawala*	III	311-318
19.	Geographical and Ethinical Data in the Matsya-Purāṇa By *S. G. Kantawala*	V	127-143
20.	Matsya-Text relating to Yajña-Varāha By *V. Raghavan*	V	237-242

(For Stotras of the Matsya-Purāṇa see under Stotras in Purāṇa-General)

2. PADMA-PURĀṆA

		Vol.	pp.
1.	Some observations on the date of Bengal recension of Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa By *Asoke Chatterji*	V	122-126

	Vol.	pp.
2. A treatise of the Kārtika-Māhātmya—Its character and Importance. By *Asoke Chatterji*	V	320-325
3. The position and Antiquity of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa By *Asoke Chatterji*	I	175-183
4. The Antiquity of the Pātāla-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa By *Asoke Chatterji*	II	52-61
5. The Characterstic Features of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa By *Asoke Chatterji*	III	47-60
6. Puṣkara-Māhātmya or so-called Padma-Purāṇa-Samuccaya By *Asoke Chatterji* (For Padma-Purāṇa-Subhāṣitas see Sūktis under Purāṇa-General)	IV	176-181
3. VĀMANA-PURĀṆA		
1. The Vāmana-Purāṇa By *V. Raghavan*	IV	184-192
2. Vāmana-Purāṇasyānuṣṭubatiriktānāṃ Chandasām-anusandhānam (वामनपुराणस्यानुष्टुबतिरिक्तानां छन्दसामनुसन्धानम्) By *Thakur Prasad Dvivedi*	V	144-159
3. Vāmana-Purāṇa-Viṣaya-Sūcī (वामनपुराणविषयसूची) By *R. S. Bhattacharya*	III	141-182
4. On the Adhyāyas of the Vāmana-Purāṇa By *A. S. Gupta*	V	360-366
4. KŪRMA-PURĀṆA		
1. Kūrma-Purāṇa-Viṣayāṇāṃ Samālocanam (कूर्मपुराणविषयाणां समालोचनम्) By *Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi*	III	235-252

	Vol.	pp.
2. Kūrma-Purāṇa-Viṣaya-Sūcī (कूर्मपुराण-विषयसुची) By *R. S. Bhattacharya*	III	333-395
5. AGNI-PURĀṆA		
1. Political thought and Practice in the Agni-Purāṇa By *Dasharath Sharma*	III	23-37
6. BRAHMA-VAIVARTA-PURĀṆA		
1. The Apocryphal character of the extant Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa *A. S. Gupta*	III	92-101
7. ŚRĪMADBHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA		
1. Śrīmad-Bhāgavatasya Vaiśiṣṭyam (श्रीमद्भागवतस्य वैशिष्ट्यम्) By *N. N. Chaudhuri*	II	62-67
8. BRAHMĀṆḌA-PURĀṆA		
1. The old Javanese Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa By *J. Gonda*	II	252-267
2. On the Date of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa By *S. N. Roy*	V	305-419
9. ŚIVA-PURĀṆA		
Śiva-Purāṇe Keṣāñcit-Pāṭhānāṃ Vicāraḥ (शिवपुराणे केषाञ्चित्पाठानां विचारः) By *V. V. Paranjape*	V	114-121
10. MARKAṆḌEYA-PURĀṆA		
The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa : Editions and Translations By *Chintaharan Chakravarti*	III	38-45

11. VARĀHA-PURĀṆA

	Vol.	pp.
1. Śrī-Varāha Purāṇam Śrī-Rāmānuja-Sampradāyaśca (श्रीवराहपुराणम् श्रीरामानुज-सम्प्रदायश्च) By *K. V. Nilameghacharya*	IV	360-383

12. NĀRADA-PURĀṆA

1. The Identical Philosophical Texts in the Nārada-Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata—their contents and significance By *V. M. Bedekar*	V	280-304

13. SKANDA-PURĀṆA

1. The legend of Cirakārin in the Skānda Mahā-Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata By *V. M. Bedekar*	IV	197-214

14. VIṢṆU-PURĀṆA

1. Similes in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa By *V. Varadachari*	III	228-234

15. LIṄGA-PURĀṆA

1. Liṅga-Purāṇasya Kāla-Nirūpaṇam (लिङ्गपुराणस्य कालनिरूपणम्) By *V. V. Paranjape*	II	76-81
2. Liṅga-Purāṇāntargatāni Nirvacanāni (लिङ्गपुराणान्तर्गतानि निर्वचनानि) By *V. V. Paranjape*	V	326-332

16. DEVĪ-PURĀṆA

1. The Devī-Purāṇa, A work of Bengal By *R. C. Hazra*	IV	351-359

17. DEVĪ-BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA

	Vol.	pp.
1. Verbal Similarities between the Durga-Sapta-Śatī and the Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa and other considerations bearing on their dates By *Dasharath Sharma*	V	90-103

18. VIṢṆU-DHARMOTTARA-PURĀṆA

	Vol.	pp.
1. The Viṣṇu-Dharmottara Chapters on Music—A Critical Study By *Shyam Chand Mukerji*	II	151-167

19. HARIVAṂŚA-PURĀṆA

	Vol.	pp.
Metres in the Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa By *Km. Vina Pani Pandeya*	II	179-187

20. MUDGALA-PURĀṆA

	Vol.	pp.
1. Mudgala-Purāṇa-Viṣaya-Samālocanam (मुद्गलपुराणविषयसमालोचनम्) By *Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi*	IV	339-350

21. AGASTYA-PARVA

	Vol.	pp.
The old Javanese Agastya-Parva By *J. Gonda*	IV	158-175

III. Bibliography and Book-Reviews

(i) BIBLIOGRAPHY

	Vol.	pp.
1. Bibliographical Notes on the Purāṇas By *A. S. Gupta.*	I	246-249
2. Bibliographical Notes on the Purāṇas By *A. S. Gupta.*	V	182-185

(ii) BOOK-REVIEWS

	Vol.	pp.
1. R. C. Hazra, '*Study in the Upa-Purāṇas*' Vol. I, Calcutta, Sanskrit College Research Series, No. 11, 1958 Reviewed by *C. R. Swaminathan,*	I	112-114

	Vol.	pp.
2. Dey and Hazra, '*Purāṇetihāsa-Saṅgraha*', Sahitya Academy, New Delhi. Reviewed by *V. S. Agrawala*	II	316-317
3. Rāj Bali Pandey, '*Purāṇa-Viṣayānukramaṇī*', Banaras Hindu University, 1957. Reviewed by *V. S. Agrawala*	II	318
4. Priyabala Sah, '*Viṣṇu-Dharmottara-Purāṇa*', Third khaṇḍa, Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Reviewed by *V. S. Agrawala.*	II	318-320
5. W. Kirfel, '*Zur Eschatologie von Welt und Leben,*' Bonn, 1959. Reviewed by *Philippe Lavastine*	IV	223-225
6. V. S. Agrawala, '*Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa-Eka Sānskritika Adhyayana*, Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1961. Reviewed by *A. S. Gupta*	IV	225-227
7. V. S. Agrawala. '*Sparks From the Vedic Fire,*' School of oriental studies, Banaras Hindu University Reviewed by *P. Lavastine*	IV	227-229

IV. Activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, Plans, Communications etc.

1. A Brief account of the work of the Purāṇa Department of All-India Kashiraj Trust By *A. S. Gupta.*	I	16-20
2. A Review of the work of the All-India Kashiraj Trust By *A. S. Gupta.*	III	134-140
3. Review of the work of the Purāṇa-Department By *A. S. Gupta*	III	397-403

	Vol.	pp.
4. Literary and Cultural Activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust By *A. S. Gupta.*	IV	216-222
5. Activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust By *A. S. Gupta.*	IV	418-423
6. Activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust By *A. S. Gupta.*	V	186-193
7. Activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust By *A. S. Gupta.*	V	376-389
8. A Brief Outline of the Plan of the Purāṇic Concordance By *R. S. Bhattacharya*	I	39 41
9. Vedavyāsa Institute of Purāṇa and Indological Research By *Ramesh Chandra De*	III	183
10. A Bibliography on Hinduism : (Communication) By *J. Gonda*	V	390-393
OBITUARY		
1. Betty Heimann By *A. S. Gupta.*	III	296
2. Dr. Rajendra Prasad By *V. S. Agrawala*	V	367-369
3. Pt. Murari Lal Mehata By *Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid*	V	370-371
4. Shri M. Patanjali Shastri By *V. Raghavan.*	V	372-374

B—AUTHOR-INDEX

	AGRAWALA, V. S., VARANASI—	Vol.	pp.
1.	Purāṇa-Vidyā	I	89-100
2.	A Cultural Commentary on the Sarasvatī-stotra of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, Adh. 237	I	139-145
3.	Bhukti-Mukti Ideal in the Purāṇas	I	160-162
4.	Padminī-Vidyā	I	188-197
5.	Sapta-Sāgara-Mahādāna	I	206-212
6	Pāśupato Yoga		
7.	A Commentary on the Rudra stotra of Hv. P., Viṣṇu Parva, 74.22-347	II	2-11
8.	Śukaṁ Prati Vyāsasyopadeśaḥ (शुकं प्रति व्यासस्योपदेशः, Devī Bhāg. I.147)	II	14-16
9.	Shaṭkulīyāḥ	II	23-42
10.	Glorification of Married Life (Translation of Mārk. P. 21.68.74)	II	82-83
11.	The Pañcavaktra or Kīrtimukha Motif	II	97-106
12.	The One Rudra and the Many	II	211-224
13.	A Note on Pūtanā and Yaśodā	II	279-281
14.	Hiraṇyagarbha	II	285-306
15.	Important words from the Purāṇas	II	307-312
16.	Nārāyaṇa Mahārṇavaḥ	II	313-315
17.	The Glorification of the Great Goddess	V	64-89
18.	Bhuvanakosha Janapadas of Bhārata-varsha	V	160-181
19.	Yajña-Varāha ; An Interpretation	V	199-236

		Vol.	pp.
20.	Devī-Māhātmya: upodghātaḥ (देवीमाहात्म्यः–उपोद्घातः) (Sanskrit Tr. of his English Preface to the Devī-Māhātmya) Tr. by A. S. Gupta.	V	267-279
21.	Kamboja-Identification	V	355-359
22.	Obituary of Dr. Rajendra Prasad	V	367-369
	AGRAWAL, V. S. AND MOTICHANDRA—		
1.	Yaksha-Worship in the Matsya Purāṇa	I	198-201
	AUROBINDO		
1.	The Genius of Vyāsa (adapted from *'Vyāsa and Vālmiki'*)	III	192-194
	BEDEKAR, V. M., POONA—		
1.	The Legend of Cirakārin in the Skānda Mahāpurāṇa and the Mahābhārata	IV	197-214
2.	The Identical Philosophical Texts in the Nārada-Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata : their Contents and Significance	V	280-304
	BHATTACHARYA, RAM SHANKAR, VARANASI—		
1.	A Brief Outline of the Plan of the Purāṇic Concordance	I	39-41
2.	Purāṇa-Concordance (पुराणविषयसूची–सर्गप्रतिसर्गौ)	I	146-150
3.	Padma-Purāṇa-stotra-sūcī (पद्मपुराणस्तोत्रसूची)	I	151-155
4.	Purāṇa-Mahimā (पुराणमहिमा) (Compilation)	II	12
5.	Vyāsa-Mahimā (व्यासमहिमा) (Compilation)	II	13
6.	Viṣṇu-stuti-sūcī (विष्णुस्तुतिसूची)	II	84-93
7.	Vyāsa-Mahimā (व्यासमहिमा) (Compilation)	III	22
8.	Vāmana-Purāṇa-Viṣaya-Sūcī (वामनपुराणविषयसूची)	III	141-182

		Vol	pp.
9.	Prācīnagranthesu Purāṇānām-ullekhaḥ (प्राचीनग्रन्थेषु पुराणानामुल्लेखः) (Compilation)	III	309-310
10.	Kūrma-Purāṇa-Viṣaya-Sūcī (कूर्मपुराणविषयसूची)	III	333-395
11.	Padma-Purāṇa-Subhāṣitāni (पद्मपुराण-सुभाषितानि) (Compilation)	IV	154-157
12.	Prācīnagranthesu Purāṇa-Nirdeśaḥ (प्राचीनग्रंथेषु पुराणनिर्देशः) (Compilation)	IV	182-183

BUDDHA PRAKASH, CHANDIGARH—

		Vol	pp.
1.	Studies in Purāṇic Geography and Ethnography—Śāka-dvīpa	III	253-287

CHAKRAVARTI, CHINTAHARAN, CALCUTTA—

		Vol	pp.
1.	The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa : Editions and Translations	III	38-45
2.	Purāṇa-Digests	V	31-38

CHATTERJI, ASOKE, CALCUTTA—

		Vol	pp.
1-	The Position and Antiquity of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa (1)	I	175-183
2.	The Antiquity of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa (2)	II	52-61
3.	The Characterstic Feature of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa	III	47-60
4.	Puṣkara-Māhātmya or the so-called Padma-Purāṇa-Samuccaya	IV	176-181
5.	Some observations on the Date of the Bengal Recension of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa	V	122-126
6.	A Treatise of the Kārtika-Māhātmya : Its character and Importance	V	320-325

	Vol.	pp.
CHATTERJI, S. K., CALCUTTA—		
1. The Purāṇas—Projected Critical Editions by the Kaśirāja Trust of Varanasi	I	12-15
CHATURVEDI, GIRIDHAR SHARMA, VARANASI—		
1. Vedeṣu Purāṇa-Mahattvam (वेदेषु पुराणमहत्त्वम्)	I	21-30
2. Purāṇeṣu Purāṇa-Mahattvam (पुराणेषु पुराणमहत्त्वम्)	I	125-126
3. Purāṇa-Lakṣaṇāni (पुराणलक्षणानि) (१)	I	130-138
4. Purāṇa-Lakṣaṇāni (पुराणलक्षणानि) (२)	II	107-121
5. Kūrma-Purāṇa-Viṣayāṇāṃ Samālocanam (कूर्मपुराणविषयाणां समालोचनम्)	III	235-252
6. Mudgala-Purāṇa-Viṣaya-Samālocanam (मुद्गलपुराणविषयसमालोचनम्)	IV	339-350
CHAUDHURI, NARENDRA NATH SHARMA, DELHI—		
1. Śrīmadbhāgavatasya Vaiśiṣṭyam (श्रीमद्भागवतस्य वैशिष्ट्यम्)	II	62-67
2. Bhagavatī Lakṣmīḥ (भगवती लक्ष्मीः)	IV	103-111
COX, GEORGE W.		
Allegorical Interpretation of the Myths (Extract form his book *'The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, 1870, P. 13).	I	127
DANGE, SADASIV A., NAGPUR—		
1. Rāmaṇīyakam—The Island of the Nāgas	III	64-71
2. Kadrū, Vinatā and the Wager	III	203-214
3. Prajāpati and his Daughter	V	39-46
4. Sāvitrī and the Banyan	V	258-266
DE, RAMESH CHANDRA, FORT RAMNAGAR—		
1. Vedavyās Institute of Purāṇic and Indological Research (communication of scheme)	III	183

	Vol.	pp.
DERRETT, J. DUNCAN M., LONDON—		
1. Book Review (of Hans Losch, '*Rājadharma*')	III	184-188
2. The Purāṇas in Vyavahāra Portions of Medieval Smṛiti-Works	V	11-30
DRAVID, RAJESHWAR SHASTRI, VARANASI—		
1. Purāṇa-Saṁśodhane Bhāratīya-Rājanīteḥ Samyag ālocanam āvaśyakam (पुराणसंशोधने भारतीयराजनीतेः सम्यगालोचनमावश्यकम्)	III	72-91
2. Bhāratīya-Rājanītau Purāṇa-Pañca-lakṣaṇam (भारतीय राजनीतौ पुराणपञ्चलक्षणम्)	IV	236-244
3. Obituary of Pt. Murari Lal Mehata	V	370-371
DVIVEDA, VRAJABALLABHA, VARANASI—		
1. Kati Tattvāni (कति तत्त्वानि)	II	168-178
DVIVEDI, THAKUR PRASAD, FORT RAMNAGAR—		
1. Keṣucin-Matsya-Purāṇa-Ślokeṣu Gadya-Bhramaḥ (केषुचिन्मत्स्यपुराणश्लोकेषु गद्यभ्रमः)	I	72-79
2. Vāmana-Purāṇasyānuṣṭubatiriktānāṁ Chandasāmanusandhānam (वामनपुराणस्यानुबतिरिक्तानां छन्दसामनुसन्धानम्)	V	144-159
3. Purāṇa-Sūktyaḥ (पुराणसूक्तयः) (Compiled from Vāmana P.)	V	350-351
GONDA, J., UTRECHT (NETHERLANDS)—		
1. The old Javanese Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa	II	252-267
2. The old Javanese Agastya-Parva	IV	158-175
3. A communication	V	390-393
GUPTA, ANAND SWARUP, FORT RAMNAGAR—		
1. A Study of the Textual Peculiarities of a Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya-Purāṇa	I	58-71

	Vol.	pp.
2. The Manuscripts of the Matsya-Purāṇa collated for its projected critical edition	I	101-111
3. Devanāgarī-Source of the Ujjain Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya-Purāṇa	I	163-174
4. Study of a newly acquired Śāradā Ms. of the Matsya-Purāṇa	II	120-127
5. The Apocryphal Character of the Extant Brahma-Vaivarta-Purāṇa	III	92-101
6. Conception of Sarasvatī in the Purāṇas	IV	55-95
7. Purāneṣvapāṇinīya-Prayogāḥ (पुराणेष्वपाणिनीयप्रयोगाः)	IV	277-297
8. The Kashmirian Version of the Matsya-Purāṇa	V	333-345
9. On the Adhyāyas of the Vāmana-Purāṇa	V	360-366
10. The Stotras in the Matsya-Purāṇa : An Analysis	I	156-159
11. Bibliographical Notes	I	246-249
12. Textual Notes	III	331-332
13. Bibliographical Notes	IV	182-185
14. Book-Review (of Dr. Agrawala's Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa—Ek Adhyayana)	IV	225-227
15. Purāṇa-Mahattvam (पुराणमहत्त्वम्) (compilation)	III	46
16. Viṣṇoravatāraḥ Kṛiṣṇadvaipāyano Vyāsaḥ (विष्णोरवतारः कृष्णद्वैपायनो व्यासः) (compiled, with notes)	III	189-191
17. Gajendra-Mokṣaṇaṁ nāma Viṣṇu-Stotram (गजेन्द्रमोक्षणं नाम विष्णुस्तोत्रम्) (compiled, with notes)	III	195-202

		Vol.	pp.
18.	Ambuvīcikṛtaṃ Sarasvatī-Stotram (अम्बुवीचिकृतं सरस्वतीस्तोत्रम्) (Skanda P. Nāgara-Kh. 46. 22-33) (Compiled, with notes).	IV	1-2
19.	Hari-Śankara-Stotram (हरिशङ्करस्तोत्रम्) (Vāmmana P. 88. 2-27) (Compiled, with notes).	IV	233-235
20,	Śrī-Stutiḥ (श्रीस्तुतिः) (Vāmana P. 9. 117-137) (Ed. with notes).	V	1-4
21.	Vyāsa-Praśastiḥ (व्यासप्रशस्तिः) (Mbh. Cr. Ed. XII. 377. 3-5) (Compiled, with notes).	V	195
22.	Varāha-Stutiḥ (वराहस्तुतिः) (Viṣṇu P. 1. 4. 12-24) (Compiled, with notes).	V	196-198
23.	A Brief Account of the work of the Purāṇa Dept. of the All-India Kashi Raj Trust	I	16-20
24.	A Review of the work of the Purāṇa Dept. of All-India Kashi Raj Trust	III	134-140
25.	Review of the work of the Purāṇa Deptt. of the All-India Kashiraj Trust	III	397-403
26.	Literary and Cultural Activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust	IV	216-222
27.	Activities of the All-India Kashiraj Trust	V	186-193
28.	Activities of the All-India Kashi Raj Trust	V	376-389
29.	Obituary of B. Hejmann	III	296

GYANI, S. D., JABALPUR—

1.	The Date of the Purāṇas (1)	I	213-219
2.	The Date of the Purāṇas (2)	II	68-75

	Vol.	pp.
HACKER, PAUL, BONN, WEST GERMANY—		
1. The Sāṇkhyization of the Emanation Doctrine shown in a Critical Analysis of Texts (Reprinted from *WZKSO*, Band V, with permisson)	IV	298-338
HAZRA, R. C., CALCUTTA—		
1. Did Vyāsa owe his origin to Berossus ?	II	17-22
2. The Devī-Purāṇa, a work of Bengal	IV	351-359
HEIMANN, B., LONDON—		
1. The Philosophy of the 'It'	III	297-308
HERBERT, JEAN, GENEVA—		
1. Śakaṭa and Pūtanā	II	268-278
HUNTINGTON, RONALD M., CALIFORNIA—		
1. The Legend of Pṛthu	II	188-210
KANTAWALA, S. G., BARODA—		
1. Home of the Matsya-Purāṇa	III	115-119
2. Matsya-Purāṇa and Promiscuity	III	311-318
3. Geographical and Ethnic Data in the Matsya-Purāṇa	V	127-143
KAPADIA, B. H., VALLABHA-VIDYANAGAR (GUJARAT)—		
1. The Four World Oceans and the Dvīpa-Theory	III	215-221
2. The Four-Fold Division of the Heavenly River in the Purāṇas	IV	146 153
LAVASTINE, PHILIPPE		
Book-Review	IV	223-225
Book-Review	IV	227-229

	Vol.	pp.
LEVI, SYLVAIN		
1. Tato Jayamudirayet (Tr. into English by Pramodchandra)—	II	112-119
LEWIS, C. A., BRISTOL, ENGLAND—		
1. The Geographical Text of the Purāṇas : A Further Critical Study (1)	IV	112-145
2. The Geographical Text of the Purāṇas : A Further Critical Study (2)	IV	245-276
MANKAD, D. R., ALIABAD, GUJARAT—		
1. Studies in Purāṇic History, Genealogies and Chronology in Modern Times	IV	3-22
MIRASHI, V. V., NAGPUR—		
1. Some Purāṇic Passages corroborated by Inscriptional and Numismatic Evidence	I	31-38
MUKERJI, SHYAM CHAND, CALCUTTA—		
1. The Viṣṇudharmottara Chapters on Music : A Critical Study	II	151-167
NILAMEGHACHARYA, K. V., VARANASI—		
1. Dharmaśāstretihāsa-Purāṇānām Vedopabṛṁhaṇatvam (धर्मशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणानां वेदोपबृंहणत्वम्)	IV	34-54
2. Śri-Varāḥ-Purāṇam Śrī-Rāmānuja-Sampradāyaśca (श्रीवराहपुराणम् श्रीरामानुजसम्प्रदायश्च)	IV	360-383
OJHA, MADHUSUDANA, JAIPUR—		
1. Purāṇa-Prasaṅgaḥ (पुराणप्रसङ्गः) (Extract)	I	184-187
2. Brahmā Padmayoniḥ (ब्रह्मा पद्मयोनिः) (Extract)	II	282-284

	Vol.	pp.
PANDEYA, KM. VINA PANI, LUCKNOW—		
1. Metres in the Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa	II	179-187
2. Purāṇa-Subhāṣitāni (पुराणसुभाषितानि) (Compilation)	III	61-63
PARANJAPE, V. V., POONA—		
1. Liṅga-Purāṇasya Kāla-Nirṇayaḥ (लिङ्गपुराणस्य कालनिर्णयः)	II	76-81
2. Śiva-Purāṇe Keṣāñcitpāṭhānāṁ Vicāraḥ (शिवपुराणे केषाञ्चित्पाठानां विचारः)	V	114-121
3. Liṅga-Purāṇāntargatāni Nirvacanāni (लिङ्गपुराणान्तर्गतानि निर्वचनानि)	V	326-332
PHARAKE, ANANTA SHASTRI, VARANASI—		
1. Sambhavaitihya-Vicāraḥ (सम्भवैतिह्यविचारः)	III	222-227
PUSALKER, A. D., POONA—		
1. Some Significant Allegories in the Purāṇas	III	8-21
2. Genealogy of the Solar Dynasty in the Purāṇas and the Rāmāyaṇa : A Critical Study	IV	22-33
RAGHAVAN, V., MADRAS—		
1. An Unique two-khaṇḍa version of the Matsya-Purāṇa	I	42-57
2. Gleanings from the Matsya-Purāṇa (1)	I	80-88
3. Inventory of Matsya-Purāṇa Manuscripts	I	220-232
4. Tamil Versions of the Purāṇas	II	225-242
5. Further Gleanings from the Matsya-Purāṇa (2)	III	321-330
6. The Vāmana-Purāṇa	IV	184-192
7. A Sample Edition of the Matsya-Purāṇa, Adhyāya 1	IV	409-417

		Vol.	pp.
8.	Purāṇārtha-Saṅgraha of Veṅkaṭarāya	V	47-60
9.	Matsya-Text relating to Yajña-Varāha, critically edited	V	237-242
10.	Obituary of Shri M. Patanjali Sastri	V	372-374

RAI, GANGA SAGAR, FORT RAMNAGAR—

1.	Classified Subject-Index and Author-Index of Vols. I—V of the 'Purāṇa'	Supplement to Purāṇa, Vol. V. 2	

RAI KRISHNADASA, VARANASI—

1.	Purāṇic Geography : Chatur-dvīpa (tr. from Hindi into English by V.S. Agrawala)	I	202-205
2.	The Ikṣvāku Genealogy in the Purāṇas (tr. from Hindi into English by V. S. Agarwala)	II	128-150

RIVIERI, JUAN ROGER, MADRID (SPAIN)—

1.	Western Indology and the Purāṇas	III	4-7
2.	The Problem of Gāneśa in the Purāṇas	IV	96-102
3.	European Translations of the Purāṇic Texts	V	243-250

ROY S. N., ALLAHABAD—

1.	On the Date of the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa	V	305-319

SAMBANDHAN, S., MADRAS—

1.	Paurāṇika-subhāṣitāni (पौराणिकसुभाषितानि) (Compilation)	I	10-11

SEN, NILMADHAV, POONA—

1.	On Some Readings of the Matsya-Purāṇa	IV	193-196
2.	Some linguistic Aberrations in the Matsya-Purāṇa	V	346-349

112281

	Vol.	pp.
SHARMA, DASHRATH, DELHI—		
1. Political thoughts and Practice in the Agni-Purāṇa	III	23-37
2. Verbal Similarities between the Durgā-Sapta-Śatī and the Devī-Bhāgavata-Purāṇa and other considerations bearing on their Dates	V	90-113
SHASTRI, ANANTA KRISHNA, VARANASI—		
1. Prahlādacarita-samālocanam (प्रह्लादचरितसमालोचनम्)	III	102-114
2. Prahlādacaritasya Śruti-Mūlakatvam (प्रह्लादचरितस्य श्रुतिमूलकत्वम्)	III	288-295
SHASTRI, K. V. RAMAKOTI OSMANIA— UNIVERSITY—		
1. Telugu versions of the Purāṇas	IV	384-407
SHUKLA, BADRINATH, VARANASI—		
1. Purāṇānāṁ Pratipādyam (पुराणानां प्रतिपाद्यम्)	II	43-51
SIRCAR, D. C, CALCUTTA—		
1. The Land of the Kambojas	V	251-257
2. Mahī-Sāgara-Saṅgama	V	352-354
SRINIVASACHARIAR, MADRAS—		
1. Paurāṇikāni Stotrāṇi (पौराणिकानि स्तोत्राणि) (Compilation)	I	3-9
SWAMINATHAN, C. R., MADRAS—		
1. Book-Review	I	112-114

112281

2. A Metrical Analysis of the Matsya-Purāṇa (1) II 243-251
3. A Metrical Analysis of the Matsya-Purāṇa (2) III 120-133

VARADACHARI, V., TIRUPATI—
1. Similes in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa III 228-234

VIVEKANANDA (SWAMI)
1. The Purāṇas as Authority for the Highest Truth (Extract) V 5

WADIYAR, JAYACHAMARAJ, MYSORE—
1. Purāṇas as the Vehicle of India's Philosophy of History V 6-10

पुस्तक

Compiled
1999-2000